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T H E
Good Old Way.
O R, A
D I S C O U R S E
Offer'd to all True-hearted
PROTESTANTS
Concerning the
A N C I E N T W A Y
O F T H E
C H U R C H.
And the CONFORMITY of the
Church of England
T H E R E U N T O :

**As to its Government, Manner of Wor-
ship, Rites and Customes.**

By *Edward Pelling*, Rector of *S. Martin Ludgate*; and Chap-
lain to his Grace the *Duke of Somerset*.

*Jer. 6.16. Thus saith the Lord, stand ye in the ways, and see, and ask
for the Old paths, where the Good Way is, and walk therein.*

Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐστὶν κρατεῖται; Con. Nic.

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THE
GOOD OF
THE
COUNTRY
PROTESTANTS

AND
CHURCH
OF
ENGLAND

THE
GOVERNMENT
OF
THE
COUNTRY
AND
THE
CHURCH
OF
ENGLAND
IN
THE
YEAR
1700

TO THE

Right Reverend Father in God

H E N R Y

*Lord Bishop of London, one of the Lords of
His Majesties most honourable Privy Council.*

My Lord,

I Am oblig'd to offer to your Lordship these following Papers, which will the rather need a good Patron (such as your Lordship) because the Times are Censorious, and many mis-guided people are ready to clamour against a man that shall adventure (though out of pure Charity) to direct them contrary to their own minds. *Maximus Tyrius* observed long ago, that Man is δυσάρεστόν τι κομιδὴ καὶ φιλαίμων καὶ θανάσι δύσκολον, Such a morose, querulous and Squeamish stomach't thing, that he will cry out at whatsoever crosseth his Humour, whether it be wrong or Right. I do not doubt, but it may be my Lot to receive such Returnes from some; and, as to mine own particular, I do not care if it be, especially since Clamouring is again become a Mode. I am sure, the Design of this little piece is Honest; for it aimeth at Peace and unity, which in these uncertain and tottering times is the only Expedient to secure the interest of our Religion against a Forreign Enemy,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Many even of different persuasions in other things, are agreed in this. But the great question is, what are the best Means for the compassing of so Excellent an End? And some (to use their own Expression) are for setting the Church doors wider open: meaning, that they would have some of our Usages and Constitutions thrown aside, because they are not fit for their Tooth, unless it be to bite at. But were this thing fairly Practicable, I beleive 'twould be as ineffectual in its issue, as 'tis unreasonable in it self. For how impossible is it, to satisfy Desires that are still craving? we could never yet tell (nor can they themselves) what will really stint them; only some have told us in general Terms, that they would have every thing down, which is not of Primitive use; of which they themselves must be judges too. So that if they will please to conclude against the whole frame of our Discipline and Government, away it must, or else they will not be satisfied.

Concessions hitherto have been so far from being Advantageous to the Church, that (like General Indulgences) they have only made ungrateful Spirits the more Bold and Insolent, so that they hope at last to get into the Saddle. Those five Reverend Divines, who were fain to lay their Noddles together to give birth to *Smeckymnus*, among other Huge Reasons for the Abolishing of our Liturgy, urged this for one, because, forsooth, it had already undergone some Alterations. As for instance; whereas in King Edward the Sixth's time, days of Abstinence were called Fish-days, afterwards that word was altered, and
Fast-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Fasting days was put in its room. From which Mighty Argument those great Logicians and Magisterial Divines did strongly conclude, that the whole Service-book might be laid aside. Find the Consequence Hethat can; but sad and long Experience hath shew'd us, what advantage designing and insatiable Men will take of every little thing, to make it a Precedent, and to plead for more still, that after the removal of this pin and that, and so on, the whole Fa-brick may at last tumble upon our heads.

Would to God this design was not on foot now, But however some endeavour to stop our Mouths, yet we have Eyes as well as They, and there is too great Reason to conclude, that many (that is to say, some Atheists, some Jesuited persons, and some whose low Fortunes and Interest (together with their Malice) engage them to be Factionous) do directly level their aim at the Ruine of our Establish't Church.

We are so charitable as to hope, that many of our Dissenters are better conditioned. But as in the late Troubles, the Rebellion went further than the first Raisers of it did intend (for they hoped to force the King to buckle to their Terms, when others behind them did resolve to force Him, and Monarchy, to the Grave) so we have grounds to believe, that now while one party desires an accommodation in some matters, others make use of their Help and Assistance, with an intent to overthrow all.

This unadvised concurrence of our over-zealous Brethren in this Juncture, though it be of most evil consequence

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quence, yet is the more to be pittied, because they imprudently strive against their own securities. For it is evident to any indifferent Eye, that the great Rampier against the Church of *Rome*, is the Church of *England*; whose Doctrines are a certain Antidote against poysonous Principles from abroad, and whose Government and Discipline do tend of themselves to Order and Unity at home.

Yet certainly it is want of Judgement and clear insight into the Nature of our Establishments, which hath made some so passionately to oppose them; because they will not give themselves the leasure to read and consider those Books which all along, have been written in defence of them, by learned and good Men, who saw of what vast use they were to the interest of the Protestant Cause. And though I may not expect, that my little pains will be taken notice of (much less, prove successful) when the labours of so many great men have been lost; yet I had some reasons to induce me to discourse purposely of the Antiquity of our usages; the rather, because a wrong and groundless notion runs about, that all our Constitutions were Originally borrowed of the Romanists; so that whosoever now is a strict Conformist, is looked upon by the heady rabble to be Popishly affected, and stands fair to be knockt down, when opportunity shall serve (which is the main thing wanting.)

Not to dissemble with your Lordship, I did not long ago, discourse upon this Theme in the Pulpit. And finding the subject so acceptable (and in a manner a new thing

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thing, even) to intelligent and sober persons, I had some strong invitations to publish those short Collections, which I had then made. But knowing the Niceness of the subject, and the Capricious humour of some men who lie upon the Catch, I found it necessary to take all into pieces, and to throw aside some things, and to add many more, and more largely; so that my task was like the mending and altering of an old House, which is many times so troublesome and chargeable, that a new one may be built at a cheaper rate.

And now, my Lord, I hope the world will not condemn me for entitling this (though inconsiderable) Piece to your Patronage. Every Creature would lay its young in a secure place; and so would I, mine. And though that be enough to excuse me (in point of prudence) for seeking the best shelter, yet my obligations to your Lordship, do moreover require me (in point of Duty) to express my Gratitude in some little measure; though I confess, 'tis much more easie to contract a new debt to your Lordship, then to make any tollerable acknowledgement of an old one.

That God would preserve your Lordship in honor and safety, and make your great cares and indeavours successful to the good of this poor Church (that is, to your Lordships own hearts desire) as it ought to be the Prayer of every honest and sincere Protestant, so it is especially of him, who is

Octob. 13th.
1679.

*Particularly bound to your Lordship
in all Observance and Duty.*

EDWARD PELLING.

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The Good Old Way :

O R,

*A Discourse offered to the Consideration of all
True-hearted Protestants, &c.*

SINCE these *fresh* Confusions and Distractions have broke in upon us, by occasion whereof this our poor Nation (like a distemper'd Body) is all on a *Ferment*, several *bad humours* striving to be *predominant*, and all conspiring to stifle that which is indeed the *life and safety* of the whole; I have often thought upon the dangerous condition which the *Jews* were in under the Reign of good *Josiah*, and upon that excellent Advice which was given them for the *prevention* of their *Ruine*. Now thus it was.

For many years backward there had been an unhappy *division and breach* among the Offspring of *Jacob*; the Nation was divided into two Bodies, the People became two distinct Houses, and the Twelve Tribes that came peaceably together out of *Egypt*, were now broken into two great Parties, and so *Israel* was against *Judah*, Throne against Throne, and Altar against Altar.

This Rent began under *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, who was the Head of the Ten Tribes, and caused them to revolt from *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*. During which unhappy Breach *neither party* prospered; yet *Israel*, that made the Breach first, prosper'd least, and was undone first. Of twenty Kings that reigned over *Israel* successively, there was *scarce one*, (I think we may say *not so much as one*) that served God with an upright and sincere heart; and of these *Hoshea* was the last, in whose days *Israel* for their Transgressions were captivated and brought in subjection to a foreign Power.

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Now

Now what was done to the House of *Israel*, was threatned to be done also to the House of *Judah*, because that unnatural Breach had occasioned the growth of Idolatry throughout the whole Land. *Lo, (saith God) I will call all the families of the Kingdoms of the North, and they shall come, and they shall set every one his throne at the entering of the gates of Jerusalem, &c. Jer. i. 15, 16.* To prevent which great evil if it were possible, good *Josiah* setteth himself withall his heart to reform Religion, and to set the Worship of God to rights. He burneth all the vessels of *Baal*, pulleth down the Idolatrous Priests, breaketh in pieces the Idol which was in the Temple, defileth *Tophet*, and the like Acts he did, as we read at large in 2 Kings 23. And God was so well pleased with the King's Zele, even when the Reformation of Religion was in his intention and purpose onely, that he promis'd him, that because his Heart was tender, and he humbled himself before him, the evils threatned should not befall *Jerusalem* in his days; *Thou shalt be gathered into thy grave in peace, saith the Lord to his Anointed, and thine eyes shall not see the evil which I will bring upon this place, 2 Kings 22. 20.* Thus far God was gracious to the People of *Judah*, that for good *Josiah's* sake he determined to defer (at least) their destruction for a time; the King's Life was yet between them and ruin; as long as *Josiah* should live no alteration was to be, but things should go with them after a tolerable good sort: but when once their King should be taken away, they were then to expect nothing but Desolation and a Curse, unless they did repent themselves seriously and in time, according to *Josiah's* Example.

It was at this time that the Prophet *Jeremy* was inspir'd and sent by Almighty God to tell all the People their Transgressions, and to call them to repentance, and to acquaint them before hand with their certain doom, if they continued in obstinacy and hardness. *Return (saith he) ye backsliding children; and if ye will return and put away your abominations, then shall you not remove (out of the Land.) Circumcise your selves therefore to the Lord, and take away the fore-skin of your hearts, ye men of Judah: wash your hearts from wickedness that ye may be saved. Be instructed, O Jerusalem, lest the Soul of God depart from thee, lest he make thee desolate, a land not inhabited.* These and such as these

these were the *general* Lectures which *Jeremy* preached in the ears of the people. But then he goes on to give them more *particular* Directions; he shews them the steps of their Forefathers; he bids them tread as the Saints and Servants of God did tread *in the days of old*; he requires them to lay aside their love of Novelty and new-fangled Devices, and to go hand in hand (all of them unanimously and together) in that *ancient way* which did lead men to Heaven, when Religion was in its purity. Nothing but this could prevent *Jerusalem's* Downfall, and the whole Nation's ruin; for all those *by-paths*, which their Fancies had hitherto found out or made, did lead onely unto Mischief and Destruction; there was no way of setting things to rights, or of giving them security, but to return to that *sound, good and holy Religion*, which had been established in the beginning: *Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and see and ask for the old paths, where the good way is, and walk therein.*

Which words were spoken to the *Jews* by way of special direction; but they were left to the Church of God for perpetual use, and may be very profitable to us for particular application; especially when the Judgments of God threaten us, and *two* great Clouds hang over us, each laden with thunder, and each ready to discharge it self upon our heads. And when the days of our Peace seem to be numbered; when for the *divisions among us great are the thoughts of heart*, and those Divisions have hastened that evil which our other sins have deserved: Then surely if ever is the time for us also to *stand in our ways, and see* whether 'tis that we are going, or to *ask for the old paths*, before we take a further step, and fall into perdition. For all our present Calamities are come upon us, by reason that men have forsaken the *old* and the *good way*, (as I shall shew anon) those private Avenues and unbeaten Paths, which the Singularity of some fond people hath sought out, have served onely to shelter a sort of *Hedg-birds and Banditi*, to make a spoil of *us* and of *them* also. And therefore before we enter irrevocably into Ruin, before we see this once glorious Church to fall, being betrayed by those who have been nursed up in her Bosom, and have eaten of her Bread; before we preach her Funerals,

and lament at her Obsequies, while others laugh and sing, *Ah, Ah, so would we have it.* If we have the least sense of any thing that is *honourable, wise, or just*, we cannot but look back upon our Declensions, and be grieved for our Folly, and at last enquire after the *old, good, and safe way, that we may find rest for our Souls*, before Trouble cometh upon our Loins, or the Harrow upon our Backs.

So that I shall take occasion to discourse of this matter with immediate respect unto our selves; and in these times of *degeneracy and danger*, when things are in an unsettled condition with us, and Religion is off the hooks, or at least turneth upon a very uncertain hinge; I shall direct my Brethren as *Jeremy* did the *Jews*, to *the ways of old*, as the best (and perhaps the onely) Expedient to gain sure Footing. And in the prosecution of this matter I shall shew, 1. What a reasonable, just, and safe Proposal this is, that we should *ask and seek for the old paths*, and walk constantly therein, notwithstanding their desires of Alteration and Novelty, *who are given to changes*. 2. What an useful and advantageous thing it would be unto us, if we would but be so wise as to walk unanimously according to this Rule, 3. And how mischievous and hurtful the Practices of those have been and are, who have declined from this *good way*, who have left the *old paths*, to walk in Paths of their own tracing out.

1. That this is a reasonable, just, and safe Proposal, that we should ask for the *old paths*, and walk uniformly and constantly therein, notwithstanding their desires of Alteration and Novelty, *who are given to changes*. Antiquity is that which most people are fond of, for it gives a marvellous Credit to all manner of Constitutions, and no Nations were ever yet so rude and barbarous, but that they have held those things to be of most *venerable and sacred use*, which have been of the most *primitive and ancient Institution*. We see it in all Humane *Societies*, that they gain a mighty esteem from the *Date* of their Foundation; the further they go to derive their Original, the more Fame and Veneration they acquire, and then most of all when their Original is like the Head of *Nilus*, that cannot be discover'd. We see it in all Humane *Laws*, that the longer they hold the deeper root they take, till at last they become

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fundamental and immoveable. We see it in all Human Customs, that when Antiquity hath worn them into Prescriptions, they are like the Laws of the *Medes and Persians*, *unalterable*: that you were as good stemm a Torrent, as strive against a very silly Custom, which has been handed down to men from their Forefathers. Now since Religion is derived from him who is *the Ancient of days*, since it is of the most Divine Descent, and the most perfect Constitution; it is strange if Religious Ordinances and Customs should not have at least the *same Advantages*, which all things in the world besides have, that is, become *the more lovely and venerable for being ancient.* It is strange that men should most affect Singularity there, where they have the least plea and reason to be singular.

Before I proceed, 'tis necessary for me to lay down these three Cautions following, to prevent uncharitable mistakes.

1. That I do not take upon me to defend the Validity of all *Church Traditions* at large, or to maintain the *Sufficiency* thereof to determine all Controversies concerning *Faith or Manners.* Every man knows to how many just Exceptions that Pretence is liable; and I do not intend to do the *Church of England* that great disservice, as to say or intimate, that in these distracted times of ours it would beenough for us to have recourse unto former Ages, and to stick to that which we find practised then. No, our Establishments do not stand upon the Practice of the Church *alone*; there is a *superiour Rule of Scripture* to which they are agreeable all of them, at least none are *contradictory*: and therefore we do not look upon the Sense and Practice of Primitive Times as the *sole* or the *main* thing to be regarded.

2. Nor do I intend to urge the Authority of Antiquity, as if *every* particular thing were to be observed religiously by us, which we find to have been instituted by the Apostles, or to have been observed in the Ages following. For several Rites were grounded in the beginning of Christianity upon certain *special Reasons*; which Reasons *failing and ceasing* in after times, those Rites too have been thought fit to be laid aside. Such was the *Anointing of the sick with oyl*, which S. James required, *chap. 5. ver. 14.* and such were the *Agape* or Love-feasts mention'd by S. Jude *ver. 12.* and such was the *Veiling of women*
in

See the Preface to our Liturgy, Of Ceremonies, why some are abolish'd, &c.

in publick Assemblies, which *S. Paul* speaks of, 1 Cor. 11. 6. and such was the *Abstinence from things strangled and from blood*, which was enjoyed by the first Council at *Jerusalem*, Acts 15. 29. And some other things there were very anciently observed in the Church, which yet this and other Reformed Churches saw reason to abolish or discontinue, as being useless now, or unsuitable to our Times. 'Tis not my purpose therefore out of a fond regard unto Antiquity to oblige men to revive those Customs, though never so ancient, which the wisdom of our Forefathers thought convenient to bury.

Cypr. ep. 73. 74.

3. Much less would I persuade the World to have any the least Veneration for Antiquity *in opposition to Christianity*; if any thing can be found among us, that is either *in genere fidei* untrue, or *in genere morum* unlawful. For Custom (though never so gray-headed) cannot be any *Prescription in Bar of Truth*, and without Truth it is nothing else but an *inveterate Error*. But (God be blessed) this reacheth not to the prejudice of the *Church of England*; because as nothing can be found in our Doctrine which is really false, so nothing can be found in our Discipline which is really and in the nature of the thing evil. Instead of those many whiffling Pretensions, which peevish and ignorant men have used against our Government, our Rites, and our Way of Worship, if they could shew us but one Masculine Reason to prove our Establishments to be *contrary to God's Word*, the Debate would soon be at an end, and we would give up our Cause, and our Lives also as well as our Livings to please them. But this Advantage we have, that many great and famous Divines in the Reformed Churches abroad, who have searched into our Constitutions with more Impartiality, that is, with better Eyes, and Judgments, and Spirits, than our own Brethren, could never yet discover any thing in them that is repugnant to the Scriptures. In former Ages *Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Zanchius*, and *Melanchthon*, and several excellent Writers more have delivered their Sense much in favour of our side. Nay the Learned *Calvin* himself, though he was constrain'd by the necessities of Times to erect a New Discipline at *Geneva*, yet was he far from condemning the way of this Church. In an Epistle to the Duke of *Somerset* he did acknowledge

ledge, that God had made him an especial Instrument of restoring *purum & sincerum suum cultum in regno Anglia*, his pure and sincere Worship in the Kingdom of *England*; and he severely condemned those Seditious and Brain-sick People, (for so he call'd them) who under colour of the Gospel would have brought in Disorder and Confusion. In an Epistle to those *Englishmen* at *Frankfurt* who would have alter'd our Settlements, he intimates, that there was no manifest Impiety in them, and therefore advised them not to be *stiff and capricious above measure*. And in an Epistle to *Bullinger* he doth confess, that he himself persuaded Bishop *Hooper* to Conformity. And in this last Age the great *H. Grotius*, who for Learning and Moderation was the *Phoenix* almost of his time, look'd upon the way of the *Church of England* with admiration, as that which came nearest to the Primitive Simplicity. And among the present Dissenters, if such as are more sober and judicious than the rest, would but please to speak out, they must needs do us right too, and confess, that however some of our Usages are not *point-wise* just as they would have them, and suitable to their humours, (and who can tell what will or can be so?) yet none of them are indeed naturally and intrinsically *unlawful*. Nay, it is much to be suspected, that those *wayward* and *hot* Spirits among us, who are *profest* Patrons of Separation, would not find much fault neither, if their former Declamations against our way were but forgotten, and their Books burnt, and their Interest and Credit in the world were but secure; at least, if their own Hands had but been concern'd in settling this way. They would have been well pleas'd, could they but have said, *Lo, this is the Bethel that we have built*. But because this beautiful Fabrick was erected by other Hands, now nothing will serve their turn unless it be said, *Lo, this is the Babel that we have helped to pull down*.

The summe is this, that though the Plea of Antiquity be not sufficient to justifie those Ecclesiastical Constitutions, which either tend not to Edification, or are used after a Superstitious manner and to Superstitious ends, or are bad and sinful in themselves; yet if the Constitutions be such as have been originally occasioned by some *Scripture-hints and intimations*; if they

*Grot. ep. ad
Gedeon. & Boet-
sel.*

they be such as are retained and used for some *solid, lasting, and perpetual Reasons*; if they be such as serve to Decency in God's Worship; to Order, Peace, and Unity among Christians; and if they be such too, as are not offensive, scandalous, or evil in their own nature; then (I say) the Plea and Suffrage of Antiquity doth *add that gloss and advantage unto them*, that they ought not to be laid aside for mens Humour's sake, but should be esteemed venerable, safe, and worthy of all acceptance. Now this we conceive to be our Case in every particular: and therefore supposing the *usefulness, reasonableness, and lawfulness* of our Constitutions, (which many Learned Divines have abundantly proved) if it be further made to appear, (and I shall endeavour to shew it in the Process of this Discourse) that these our Constitutions were observed in the Ancient Church of Christ, and that this was the *old path* wherein Millions of blessed Saints walked, while Religion continued fresh and fair within its Inclosure, then more will not be needful to convince any *rational, serious, and sober* man, that this is a *good* as well as *old way*, wherein we also may and ought to walk, notwithstanding the Pretences of those who love to walk irregularly and by themselves.

1. For it is to be considered, that if there be any safe and good way, certainly it must be found among the Ancient Christians; and the Stream of Religion must needs be still purer and purer, the nearer we come to the Fountain Head. I speak now of things concerning the *Government and Discipline of the Church*. And questionless those things could not but be in a very good posture in the first Ages, when the Minds of Christians were full of Simplicity, when their Spirits were holy, their Designs honest, and their Factions few, and their Interests united. When the Blood of Christ was yet *warm in their hearts*, and their Faith was so fresh and sprightly, that they chose to die, rather than they would depart from the Rule that had been fix'd by the Apostles. When Persecutions were so rife, that Christians had other things to do, than to study or think of Innovations in Religion: and let me add also, when they had

Ex ipso ordine manifestatur, id esse Dominicum & verum quod sit prius traditum; id autem extraneum & falsum quod sit posterius immixtum. Tertul. de Præscript. adv. Hæret.

Quando Domini nostri adhuc calebat cruor, & fervebat recens in credentibus fides. Hieron. ep. ad Demetriad.

had such an *account* as was *clear* and *certain*, (in comparison of that which *later Ages* have had) touching the *Original* and *Institution* of things which came so *lately* to their hands. *We* indeed cannot *certainly* tell what were Apostolical Traditions, but such as we find in Scripture, because we *want* many good Records, which were written in the *early* days of Christianity. Nay, in *S. Jerom's* time they were posed to tell certainly what Rites were of Apostolical Appointment: and they did generally call the Customs of the Church, and the Injunctions of their Ancestors, by the name of *Apostolical Traditions*. But yet 'tis reasonable to believe, that Christians of the *second* and *third* Century, who gave diligence to search *into*, and had means to find *out*, the Original of many Ecclesiastical Observations, were able to give a very *fair* and *satisfactory* account, what had been transmitted to them from the Apostles, and what not. For some of them conversed with the Apostles themselves, (or with some of them) as *Polycarp*, *Ignatius*, and *S. Clement* of *Rome*. Others again (as *Irenaeus* and *Justin Martyr*) were acquainted with *Apostolical* men. And others were so near to these, (as *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Cyril*, &c.) that it was not very hard for *them* to know, whether the Ordinances and Customs then used in the Church did owe their birth to the first Preachers of Religion, or whether they were *postnate* to the Age of the Apostles. Do not *we* know by the Acts and Monuments of former times, what the Governours of our Church did and appointed in the *beginning* of the *Reformation* under King *Henry* the Eighth? Why, it is very *probable* then, that what the Apostles did and instituted at the Planting of Religion under *Nero*, *Vespasian*, and *Domitian*, might be easily known to those Fathers of the Church who lived and flourished, some *ten*, some *thirty* years after them, and others onward to an *hundred*, (or say *two hundred*) years successively. So that if it shall hereafter appear, that the outward Frame of Religion, which is establish'd in the present Church of *England*, was the very *same* Model for the most part which was used anciently in other Churches in the days of those *primitive Writers* and the very *Model* which they *professed* to have received from Christ's immediate Successors; then I cannot imagine what

Unaquaeque
Provincia
abundet in sensu
suo; & praecep-
ta majorum le-
ges Apostolicas
arbitretur. Hie-
ron. ad Lucian

just reason any man can have against the asking for, and the walking in a way, so *ancient*, so *laudable*, and so *safe*. If he will not grant, that our Establishments were instituted by the holy *Apostles*, (which yet in probability is true, that they were appointed by them as things *useful*, *decent*, and *convenient*, though not as *necessary in every particular*) he must needs grant that they were appointed by *due Authority*, that is, by *Apostolical Persons*, and so may claim *veneration* and *observance* at our hands. Besides, it is to be consider'd, that not to the *Apostles* onely, but to their lawful *Successors* also, was that Promise of our blessed Saviour made, that he *would be with them always, even unto the end of the world*, *Matth. 28. 20.* and that other Promise, that he *would send his Spirit to guide them into all truth*, *John 16. 13.* Now though that Promise requireth certain *conditions* of us, and extends it self chiefly to the *necessaria fidei*, matters of *faith*, and *necessary* matters too; yet 'tis altogether improbable, that *Christ* and his *Spirit* should take so little care of his Church in reference to its *Polity* and *Discipline*, as to forsake her in the very *next age*, or to leave her to be abused by the Fancies of *Dreamers*, and to be *imposed* upon by men of *foolish* and *degenerous* Spirits, and to be defaced and spoiled of her *pristine Beauty* by the frothy Conceptions of men of *corrupt minds*. I pray, whither went the Spirit of *Christ* from the *old Christians* to speak unto us, after the space of *Fifteen hundred years*? How came he to *suspend* his Influences from those who lived *Saints* and died *Martyrs*, and at last came to breathe afresh into *dry bones*, and to *restore* Religion which had been *lost* in a *long interval* of Time and succession of Ages? Can any but *Franticks* conceive, that the Church was never pure till an hundred years ago? Or that for so many Centuries she *needed* to be swept, and yet a *Besom* could never be found till the *Disciplinarian* *started up* and *made* one, and swept at such a rate, that *with us* *Order*, *Decency*, and *Religion* were quite flung out of doors; and *Hypocrisie* and *Oppression* were set up in its room?

Vorst. ad Theolog. Heidelb. in Epist. Ecclesiasticis.

2. *Zanchius* profess, that he had rather drink *old Wine* than *new*; meaning, that he preferred the Sense of the *Ancients* above that of *Modern Divines*, in all Points not determined in Scripture.

ture. He said like a wise man; and 'twould be much for the Peace of Christendom, if all Christians would resolve in matters of *Opinion* to follow the *Judgment*, and in matters of *Discipline* to observe the *Practice*, of the *ancient Church*. But some Palats are for new Wine *onely*, not because it is so good, (*for the old is better*) but because it is *new*. And I am not likely to persuade such to conform to the Establishments of our Church by this Argument, because they are *ancient Establishments*. Yet I would beseech them to consider, in the second place, that the way we plead for, is not onely an *old*, but a *good* way also. We must not think, that the Contrivers of our Constitutions and Usages were so many *Fools*, how low soever they may lie in the esteem of men who have *less* Wisdom and *worse* Manners, and value a little *serpentine Craft* above the *Dove's Innocence*. A Church being gather'd, it was impossible that without Laws that Society should hold together, or answer the ends of its Foundation; and therefore *Government* was necessary; and of all sorts of Government that by *Bishops* was thought most convenient and fitting, because presumed to be the best Defensative against *Faction*, *Schism*, and *Disorder*; and the *Experience* of all Ages hath found it to be so. Again, since the Church is a Collection of men *learned* and *unlearned*, who are set apart to worship God, and do hold their Title unto Christ by their Faith in him, it was judg'd very expedient, that *Set Forms of Publick Prayer* should be prescrib'd, both as a *Repository* of wholesome and sound Doctrines, and likewise as a *Provision* for the necessities of the ignorant, and moreover as a *Preservative* of Order, Unity, and Peace among Christians. Lastly, considering that the Worship of God is to be celebrated with *solemn* Decency and Comliness, suitable in some degree to the Greatness of that Majesty which is to be adored, certain *outward* Rites and Ceremonies were appointed, as good means to *con-* 1 Cor. 14.40.
duct men to a *sense* of Religion, and to the exercise of Godliness, and to create and stir up the Devotion of the Mind, and the Reverence of the Heart. For by the Judgment and Practice of the whole World it doth appear, that an *external* Solemnity and Observance of Circumstances (such as *Habits*, *Ornaments*, *Gestures*, &c.) do bring a mighty *respect* to all *secular*

Transactions, and the *Grandeur* of *Princes Courts*, of *Courts of Judicature*, and of *Civil Corporations*, is much *upheld*, and Government becomes *venerable* by the use of *Rites* and *Ceremonies*, though *little* in their own nature. In like manner, the use of *Ceremonies* in the *Service of God*, and in all *Sacred Transactions*, doth make a great *impresson* on mens *Minds*, it *commandeth* *Reverence*, (which is the *security* of *Religion*) and conveyeth through our *senses* into our *hearts* an *awful* regard of what we are about; and as *apparel* upon our bodies serveth to maintain the *vital heat* within, so do these outward *Appendages* help to preserve the *very heart* of *Religion*, which consisteth in true *Piety* and *Devotion*.

Declarat. of
April 9. 1642.

This is enough to shew the *wisdom* of those who first chalked out unto us this old way, for which we now plead. And before men cry out against this way, they should do well to consider, whether they can direct us to a *better*. But our *Disfenters* could *never yet* do this. They could pull down our *Government*, and throw out our *Liturgy*, (which yet was quite contrary to their *Solemn Declaration*;) they could *abolish* our *Ceremonies*, and *destroy* our *Discipline*, (and any *Child* or *Dunce* can spoil a *Model*, which none but an *Artist* can set together.) But though they had the *confidence* to *mar* things, yet they had not amongst them all the *wit* to *mend* them. Government, which sate *easy* upon the *Shoulders* of unprejudiced people *before*, became an *intolerable* burthen to *all* by their *pretended* *Reformation*. Though *at first* the *World* was in love with their *new Trangum*, yet 'twas soon *weary* of it; and in a little time threw it away with *scorn* and *indignation*. What a grave *decorum* was there in all *Churches* *before*? and what *intolerabiles ineptiae*, *Fooleries* and *Ridicules* succeeded them? Were not the *Houses* of *God* turned into *Theatres*? Was not *Religion* turned into a *Comedy*? And were not all *sacred* *Offices* brought into *contempt*, so that men *abhorred* the *offering* of the *Lord*? Why, 'tis strange that those men, who in a fit of good nature are so kind as to *pity* the weakness of their *Forefathers*; and are so silly as to be *puffed up* with a windy conceit of their own knowledge, will not be so *modest* and *just* as to allow the *Ancient Assertors* and *Props* of *Christianity* the due *Credit* of having

ving been *wise men*; 'tis strange (I say) since these Starters aside from the old Paths never altered those Establishments which our Fathers left us, but still they altered them for the worse. What a thin, pitiful, and impertinent business was the *Directory* in comparison of our *service-book*? And yet that was the *only* thing that was *like* a Platform, and that did not very well please *themselves*. And since His Majesty's Restauration a *new Liturgy* was offered to the World for a *Tryal of Skill*, and yet it would not pass; the Contrivers of it could not satisfy either *us* or their *own Party* by it. And if you will go back to *former times*, you will find that they were *Bunglers* from the beginning. To which purpose the story is observable, which the Learned and Excellent Dr. *Hammond* relates of those four *Classes* of Reformers in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had set themselves up in this Kingdom. "These had made complaint to the Lord *Burleigh* against our Liturgy, and entertained hopes of obtaining his Favour in that business about the Year 1585. He demanded of them whether they desired the *taking away of all Liturgy*? They answered, *No*. He then required them to make a *better*, such as they should desire to have settled instead of this. The *first Classis* did accordingly frame a new one, (which I suppose was that Book of Common Prayers mentioned by Bishop *Bancroft*, but it was) according to the *Geneva Form*. But this the *second Classis* disliked and altered in 600 particulars. That again had the fate to be quarrell'd by the *third Classis*; and what the *third* resolved on, by the *fourth*. And the dissenting of those Brethren, as the division of Tongues at *Babel*, was a fair means to keep that Tower then from advancing any higher. Thus he. Now certainly that outward Frame and Constitution of Religion was very *wisely* contrived, which *Clubs* of peevish and restless Spirits have been *pecking* at for these *hundred* years together, and yet are at a loss how to raise any *tolerable* good Fabrick upon the *ruins* of the *old* one. And then I appeal to any *indifferent* person, whether it be not the safest course for men to walk in *that* way, which (taking it from one end to the other, and in the main) is so good condition'd, that either you *need not* or *cannot* mend it.

View of the
new Directo-
ry.

Bang. Pos. B. 3.
c. 10.

3. And yet, besides what has been said already, there is a *third* very considerable Argument, to shew what great Reason we have to stick to our Establishments; and it is this, that our Way is not onely *Ancient* (in respect of it self) and incomparably *useful* (in respect of its ends) but is also that which was *generally* used by all Professors of Christianity in the *beginning*. Had our Government and Discipline been *Local*, and set up in this Church of *England alone*, there might have been some room for an Impeachment of *Singularity*. But you shall see, that the Way which is settled among us, was for the most part the *great and common* Road which all Saints and Martyrs observed of old; so that we do not onely plead *Prescription*, but we plead it from the *joynt consent* of all Christendom; and our Constitutions carry as great Countenance and Authority, as the *Catholic Church* can give them. Scarcely shall you find any ancient Records of either the *Asiatic*, or *African*, or *European Churches*, but we can fetch Testimonies out of them touching the *universal* use of most of our Establishments, if not all. And can we reasonably think, that a Platform so received all Christendom over without contradiction, and handed down unto us from the Practice of all Nations, so *separated* by distances of *place*, and so *divided* by differences of *language*, could be an *Imposture* or *Corruption*? Is it not rather to be presumed, (as a thing *probable and likely* at least) that it came *originally* from the hands of those, who first planted Christianity in the *several* Quarters of the World? It is a Rule in *Tertullian*, that—*quod apud multos unum invenitur, non est erratum, sed traditum*; That Religion which did so *consent* with it self up and down in so many places, was derived from the *Apostles* or *Apostolick men*, who scatter'd themselves into all Nations, and resolved to teach people but *one general* Way. To say, that the beginning of many Usages in the Church is *unknown*, is a plain *confession* of their *Antiquity*, and just ground for a *suspicion*, that they bear Date with the first Publishing of Christianity. To say that every one of our Customs was at first the *fancy* of some *private* person, which by *continuance* and *contagion*, came at length to be a *public Rite*, seemeth to be as *groundless* an Assertion as the former. For the Devisor of that Custom was either an *Heretic*

*Tert. de Praescr.
adv. Haer.*

or

or a *Catholic*. First then, suppose he was a *known deceiver*; suppose he had fair *opportunities* of going into all parts, and great *ability* of speaking all Languages, and a strong *design* of corrupting the Simplicity of Religion, yet it is impossible that so many *wise* and *watchful* Fathers of the Church could *sleep* all that time, and suffer *every* Province and Countrey to be overrun with Superstition and Innovation in a *trice*? Consider seriously but this one following Instance: *Montanus* was a very early *Impostor*, (for *Tertullian* at last became a Profelyte to his Party.) This man pretended to have been *inspired*, and profess'd greater Sanctity of Life than other men, insomuch that his Adherents called all *sober* and *regular* Christians by the name of *Psychici*, that is, *Animal* or *Carnal* Gospellers. He condemned all second Marriages, and would have (a) *enacted* Laws of Fasting, and endeavoured to introduce a Custom of observing more *Lents* than *one* (b) in a year. The Christians at that time were very severe in their times and manner of Abstinence, and were ready enough to comply with any *usual*, though never so *austere* kinds of Discipline. But yet when *Montanus* went about to *impose* upon them, his *attempting an Innovation* gave such an Alarm to the Bishops, that the Church rose up against him as one man, and condemn'd him for an *Heretic*; though (if *Tertullian* (c) may be believed) he did *not* Innovate in any matters pertaining unto the *Faith*. Now when we consider this *single* Instance, can we be so unreasonable as to imagin, that a *Government* which was set up *every where*, was a *new-fangled device*? Or that a *Discipline* which was received *every where*, was a *private* Invention, and of a *Seducer* too? Or that *Forms* and *Rituals* which were used *every where*, were Brats begotten by some *doating* Head and *superstitious* Brain, and then *thrown* into the Bosom, and *forc'd* into the Embraces of every Church in the World? 2. Well, to mend the matter a little, suppose this Author of these Customs to have been a Person of *Note* and *Eminence* in the Church; yet we are much mistaken if we think, that the Governours of the Church were such *tame*, *easie*, and *flexible* men, as to receive and admit of *new* Customs upon the Recommendation of a *single* or

(a) Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3.

(b) Hieron. Epist. ad Marcel.

(c) ——— Non quod aliquam fidei aut spei regulam evertant, (scil. Montanus & Maximilla) sed quod planè doceant sæpius jejunare quàm nubere. Tert. adv. Psychicos.

Euseb. Eccles.
Hist. l. 5. c. 23,
24.

or private Person, though of unquestionable Integrity, for they refus'd Offers made them by whole Churches. For instance: The difference about the keeping of Easter is as famous as it was old. The Churches of Asia observed it on the day of the Jews Passover, on whatsoever day of the week that happened. The Western Churches observed upon the day when our Lord rose from the dead. This Variety of Observation was from the beginning, (if there be any truth in Ecclesiastical History) and in a little time it begat a Controversie, first between two Bishops, Anicetus of Rome, and Polycarpus of Smyrna, S. John's Disciple. The matter was debated between them, but neither could Polycarpus persuade Anicetus to recede from his Custom, nor could Anicetus persuade Polycarpus to recede from his. So they parted good Friends. Almost thirty years after, this Controversie was revived between whole Churches, in the time of Polycrates Bishop of Ephesus, and Victor of Rome. Several Provincial Synods were summoned to consider of the matter; and on each hand Tradition was urged. The Western Churches insisted upon a Tradition which they had received from some of the Apostles; the Churches of Asia pleaded a Tradition which they had received from S. John, (who 'tis likely recommended that Custom to them to gratifie the Jews :) And perhaps the Plea on both sides was good. But so stiff they were on each hand, that no Arguments could prevail with either Party to relinquish their old Custom, and to take up the other; so that Victor in a great heat would have cut off tot & tantas Ecclesias Dei, so many and such eminent Churches of God, from his Communion, had not the great Prelate of Lyons, Irenaeus, stood in the gap, and reprehended Victor for his rashness. Now he that shall seriously consider this story with all its Circumstances, cannot with reason believe, that the Ancient Churches were easie to be impos'd upon, or to be corrupted with Superstition, when they stood out so resolutely against an innocent Tradition. Much less is it credible, that a few Persons, though of Repute and Dignity, could possibly leven all Churches in Christendom with their private Inventions. And therefore when we consider, how all Churches of old did conspire, as in the same Faith, so in the same Government, in the same Mini-
strations,

strations, and generally in the same *Rites* too (and those now in use with us here,) we must needs be *startled* in our thoughts, and be *posed* to conceive, how these things could arise all at once of *themselves*, without any hand (like so many Mush-rooms that start out of the Earth in a Night,) or how they could be disseminated by any *Private* hand. Rather it seemeth reasonable to impute them to the *Special Providence* of God, and to the *Institution* of the first Ministers of Religion, who probably did recommend these usages, as things *useful* or *convenient*, though they did not *Ordain*, or *Impose* them as things *simply* and *universally Necessary*.

I do not pretend peremptorily to derive *all* our Customs from Apostolical Practice; although there are such fair evidences of the Antiquity of many of them, that we might *strongly* argue that point, if the Ancient Christians may be allowed (what is allowed Jews and Heathens) to be good Witnesses of *matters of Fact*. But my purpose is to prove, that our present Establishments in the Church of *England*, are of a *very Venerable date*; and for that Reason, to contend, that they ought not to *give place* to Novelties, as if they were of *no moment*; or to be *kick'd down*, as if they are *Despicable*. So that if better Arguments may be fetch'd from Antiquity on their *behalf*, than can be brought *against* them, I have obtained my Ends; and in order to that, I urge the *General*, as well as *Ancient* usage of them: For certainly one Church ought to have regard to the Constitutions of other (and especially the Ancient) Catholick Churches, or else St. Paul's Argument is trifling in 1 Cor. 11. 16. where condemning the covering of Mens Heads, and the uncovering of Womens in Religious Assemblies, he confronts the Practice, by urging the custom observed in all Places besides *Corinth*, *We have no such custom, neither the Churches of God*: And in St. Paul's Judgment that was enough to determine the Controversie.

Two things may be objected against what hath been spoken. First, That the *Christian* Churches were universally deceived in the Primitive Times, and that in two Instances. 1. They all believed, that after the World was 6000 years old, there would be a general Resurrection of the Dead, and then that

Christ would Reign on Earth a thousand Years. Secondly, It was an universal custom, to give the Sacrament of the Lords Supper even to Infants, after they were Baptized. And if all the Ancient Churches were actually cheated in two things, 'tis probable, that they were in more also; at least, nothing can be brought from the General Practice of those Churches, to make their Customs venerable.

In Answer to the former Instance, I have three things to offer briefly: 1. That it was not matter of *Fact* or *Discipline*, but matter of *Opinion* only, in which the World might be more easily abused; because, points of *Doctrine* are not obvious to the *Senses*, and are more hard to be retained in the *Memories* of men, than things of *Custom* and *Discipline*. And therefore Tradition is *not* allowed to be a safe Record of things concerning the *Faith*, but the *Scriptures* only. 2. That this Persuasion was not derived from the *Apostles*, but came Originally from some *Jews*, converted to *Christianity*, who were mixed up and down in the Churches of Christ. For such an old Tradition we read of, called the Tradition of the House of *Rabbi Elias*, that the World should continue 6000 Years, and then, that the *Everlasting Sabbath* should begin. Which Fancy continuing in the Minds of most Christian Jews, *Papias*, and other Christians, came by degrees to imbibe it, by conversing with those of the Circumcision, who were dispersed all Christendom over. 3. And yet, thirdly, this was *no universal Doctrine*, by your favour. For *Eusebius* saith, that *Many Ecclesiastical persons were abused with this Error*. And *Justin Martyr* tells us, that though *he himself*, and *many others* were of that Opinion, yet there were *many others*, men of pure and pious Judgments, who did not think so. And shew me, if you can, any such in those days, that were against the received Government and Discipline of the Church.

In Answer to the latter Instance, we have reason to affirm, that the giving of the Communion to Baptized Infants, was not an *universal* custom in the Primitive Times, whatever some Learned men have suggested to the contrary. Such indeed was the exuberant Piety of those Ages, that they would not fail in any thing which *seemed* to be a Duty and a security of

Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 3. in
fine.

Παλαιοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ
ἐν τοῖς ὁμοῖς
χειριστῶν
ὑπομνήσ. τὸ
μὴ γινώσκοντες
ἰσχυρὰ σοί.
Justin. Dial.
cum Tryph.

of their hopes ; and some did run away with a misconstruction of those words of our Saviour in *Joh. 6. 53.* But suppose that this was an usual Custom in *some* particular Churches, it is not fair that one single Exception (if yet it be an *Exception*) should void a *whole* Rule ; and all that we can gather from it is, that *all* their Customs were not of Apostolical Institution : nor do we say they were ; onely I urge, that where their Customs were universal in the first Ages, there is a fair *probability* that they came from good hands, and a sufficient Argument for *us* to walk in a way which was so universally old. But lastly, in answer to both these Objections it is clear, that as well the former *Opinion*, as this *Custom*, met in time with publick *contradiction* ; for the one was disown'd, and the other was laid aside in following Ages ; and so the Instances do not reach *us*, whose Establishments have passed all along *without* condemnation or censure, (nay with *accessions* and *advantage*) till of late some indiscreet men resolved to run far enough from the Church of *Rome*, ran themselves out of their *wits* and *five senses*, and forgetting the *Golden Mean* took too quick a step out of *Superstition* into *Confusion*, and now are in a fair way to run round again out of *Confusion* into *Superstition*.

2. I hope that our Plea of Antiquity in defence of our Constitutions standeth yet fair, notwithstanding this *first* Pretence. The next is, that even in the Apostles days *the mystery of iniquity was working*, as *S. Paul* witnesseth *2 Thess. 2. 7.* For they who are not Friends to the way of the Church of *England*, do generally (*but wrongfully*) understand by that Mystery of Iniquity, a *Spirit of Tyranny and Superstition* even in the bowels of *Christ's Spouse*, that was then setting up for *Antichrist*, and laying the Foundations of *Prelacy*, and a *ceremonious, pompous* way of Worship, and whatsoever else men will please to say.

For the voiding of this Pretence, 1. We do acknowledge, that there was a sort of men in *S. Paul's* days, (and the less wonder if there are such now) that were like Moles, blind and busie Creatures, working under ground, restless and mischievous, notwithstanding their soft, delicate, and smooth Skin. But then, secondly, we do utterly deny (and 'tis a marvel that any man of Learning should have the confidence to affirm) that

these were true Christians, living in the communion of the Church, and under the guidance and government of the Holy Apostles. No; they were the *Sectaries* of those times; whom S. Paul meaneth by the Mystery of Iniquity, a company of close Villains, whose lewd designs were hid in the dark, and whose abominable Practices were kept private under a Curtain, and within the Walls of their Conventicles: for it is a shame even to speak of those things which were done of them in secret, Ephes. 5. 12. The Apostles do point plainly unto these Miscreants throughout all their Epistles. S. Paul gives them the Character of false Prophets, deceitful workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ. — dogs, evil workers, the Concision, that all good people should beware of. — men vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds, and not holding the head. — pretending knowledge, falsely so called. — lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, (or Make-bates) incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof. S. Peter calls them false teachers, that through covetousness with feigned words made merchandize of people: despisers of government, presumptuous, self-willed, that were not afraid to speak evil of dignities, &c. S. Jude describes them as men crept in unawares, ungodly men, turning the grace of God into lasciviousness, filthy dreamers, that despised dominion, and spake evil of dignities, and of those things which they knew not, murmurers, complainers, &c. Any man may perceive, that those were the followers of Simon Magus, the Gnosticks, whom the Holy Writers did thus lash, and expose to the World; men who called themselves Christians, and went under the Name; yet by their notorious and unparalleled wickedness brought a reproach upon Religion, and caused the Name of Christ to be blasphemed by the Gentiles. But the Apostles have taken most particular notice of their separation from the Church of Christ. These are they (saith S. Paul) which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, 2 Tim. 3. 6. They went out from us, but were not of us, saith S. John, 1 Joh. 2. 19. These be they who separate themselves, saith S. Jude, ver. 19. which have forsaken

Χριστιανοὶ κα-
λῶν, οἱ ὅτι πρὸς
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν
νόμον τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ
Χριστοῦ ἠ-
ποστασάντων.
Jul. Mart.

ken the right way, saith S. Peter, and are gone astray, following the way of Balaam. By which plain Testimonies it doth appear, that the Schismatics of that Age are they which S. Paul meant by the *Mystery of Iniquity*: the high-flown, stubborn, seditious, and contentious *Gnosticks*, they that forsook the Regular Assemblies, that spurn'd at Government; they that were set against the Hierarchy, and lifted up their unholy Claws to pull down the Constitutions of the Church. These were that *Mystery of Iniquity* which was then working and factoring for *Antichrist*. And what is this to the true Church? For there was no evil then working *within* the Church; there was no preparing of Materials for the Kingdom of the Devil *within* the Church; there was no Idolatry in the Mint, nor Superstition upon the Anvil, *within* the Church; but indeed *without* there was hard working, sweating and toiling; so that after the death of the Apostles many Errors were scatter'd by these Preachers of Knowledge, falsely so called, who counterfeited themselves Christians, and lurked among those who were Christians in truth and reality. But shall we be unjust and wicked like the Pagans, reviling the whole ancient Church for the sake of these old villanous Sectaries? Shall our Ecclesiastical Constitutions be depraved, by reason of the Schismatical and Diabolical Practices of the *Gnosticks*? If *Samaria* doth transgress, there is no reason that *Judah* should suffer for it, unless she be a Confederate. Now it would be to the purpose, if it could be proved, that the *Gnosticks*, that *Mystery of Iniquity*, were the founders of our Prelacy, or the Authors of our Discipline and Ceremonies. But it is obvious, that they were the first (though not the last) the hated and oppos'd Episcopal Authority, and that they used quite different and most monstrous Rites in their filthy Assemblies; and as soon it may be proved, that their and our Faith is the same: whereas it is known, that they denied the Reality of Christ's Incarnation and Passion, (and for that reason came not to the Christian Communion,) and that their Creed was a confused Mese of Heathen Mythology concerning *Eones* and *Genealogies* of Gods, which afterwards *Valentinus* the Heretick digested into some kind of Form.

2 Pet. 2. 15.

Hegesippus in
Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. l. 3. c. 32.S. Ignat. epad.
Smyr.
1 Tim. 1. 4.

Briefly

1 Cor. 11. 34.

Briefly then; If the way Establish'd in this Church of *England* be the old *Christian* way; if it be so excellently contrived, that no other Constitution can be better (or, so well) framed to answer the ends of *Christianity*; if it be that way, which for the greatest (if not in every) part thereof, is that which was universally observed for very many Centuries, all along, from the Pure and Primitive Times of *Christianity*; then have we reason to believe, that it was *originally* laid out, not by the *Invention* of a *Private* Person or two, or by the *Confederacy* of crafty Impostors, but by the *wisdom* of just and competent *Authority*, whose business it was to *set things in order* in the Churches of *Christ*: To be sure, we have then great Reason to ask for this old Path, where the good Way is, and to walk therein, notwithstanding the desires and endeavours of those, which are given to changes. And thus the first thing is dispatch'd, which I propounded to discourse of.

2. The second Consideration now followeth, that it would be a thing greatly useful and advantageous unto us (as well as just in it self) if we would but unanimously agree to walk steddily in this Good old way.

And truly, many excellent ends there are, to which the Practice of this thing would be highly serviceable.

1. As first; it would put that *Lustre* and *Beauty* upon Religion, which by our *Distractions* and *Innovations* is manifestly, and in an high degree *defaced*; it would restore it to that *Decorum* and *Order*, which made it *venerable* and *lovely* in the days of *Old*. Among other things which *St. Paul* rejoiced to see in the *Collossians*, this was one, that he beheld their *Order*, *Col. 2. 9.* For this very much helpeth to bring Religion into *Request*, and extorteth a *Confession* from its very Enemies, that of a truth God is in them that do profess it; whereas Confusion and Disorders in a Church, either for want of a fixt Rule, or by the neglect of it, doth but expose Religion to *Reproach*, and its Professors to *Scorn*. If there come in (into irregular Congregations) those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say, that ye are mad? As the Apostle speaks pertinently to my purpose. 1 Cor. 14. 23.

2. To

2. To walk together in the good Old Path, would be an excellent means, as to put an *Outward Gloss* upon Religion, so also to recover that *Inward Life* of it, which consisteth in *Charity*, and brotherly *Love*. Scarcely is any thing so much wanting among us as *Charity*, though the Holy Ghost doth up and down command us to be *rooted and grounded, to walk and to be knit together, to abound and continue in, and to provoke one another unto Love*. Mens forsaking of the good Old Way, has been the *Occasion and Rise* of all that uncharitableness, which is the *Monstrous Sin*, and the *Characteristical note* of this Age, when instead of being *Lambs and Doves*, some count it a piece of Religion, to be worse than *wolves and Vultures*, ready to devour one another. For in the Primitive Times, when *Christians* could dispute well, and live better, the very *Heathens* could not but observe with Admiration, how they loved one another. Men have ceased to be our Friends, since they refused to go the usual way with us into the House of God, and parted from us into different and by-roads: And that *ill-natur'd Sect*, which first divided from us, is justly rewarded with *Ishmaels doom*, *Gen. 16. 12. That his hand is against every man, and every mans hand against him*. And, as far as I can see, things are likely to go on still at this rate, 'till men will be so kind to themselves, and so just to us, as to quit those Novel courses, and uncouth paths, in which *Pride and Singularity*, and a *Spirit of Contradiction* (together with base respects to their *Secular Interest*) have caused them to wander hitherto.

3. A thing which is the more desirable (especially, at this juncture and nick of time) because, *thirdly*, it would infinitely serve to the general *Quiet and Safety* of us All. It would unite our *Interests*, as well as our *Affections*; 'twould compose our *Minds*, and our *Affairs* too; 'twould not only make us live together with *one mind* in an House; but, moreover it would *establish our House*, and make it *strong, and firm, and safe*, over our Heads. For, 'tis not every difference in *Opinion*, that exposeth a *Church*, or a *Nation* to danger; but 'tis fighting and quarrelling about the *Main way* that ruins all. We know, that among the *Turks*, there are several *Sects and Parties*, and different persuasions, and yet the *Ottoman Empire* holds (though it be a most

most *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical* Policy,) and the Interest of *Mahomet* is carried on (though it be a most palpable and fulsome Imposition,) because, though they jangle in matters of lesser moment, yet they are true to their *Common* Interest, and agree in the *Main*, and closely adhere to their *general* Model of *Government*, *Religion*, and *Worship*. In like manner, among the *Romanists themselves* (who boast so much of the *Unity* of their Church) there are many very *Considerable* Divisions, and more, perhaps, than there are among *Us*, and those as hotly maintained; and yet *Herod* and *Pilate* know how to agree against *Christ*; the *Scotists* and *Thomists*, the *Molinists* and *Jansenists*, the *Dominicans* and *Jesuits*, and the rest, are wise enough to hang together under the *Laws* of their Church; they go quietly, and hand in hand in the main way; they conspire in one *Common* Form; they are true to their *Government*, and keep close to their *Rubrics* and *Establishments*; and as long as the Pope can but keep things in this Channel, either by the *Terrors* of the *Inquisition*, or by other *Politick Arts*, he knows that his, and his Churches Interest is safe, and he needs not make use of his pretended *Infallibility* to determine those points which are controverted. I wish that we would learn so much wit of the *Adversaries* of *True Religion*, as not to fall out there, where the safety of us all is concern'd; but walk together like Friends, in that plain way, which the *Ancient Church* hath beaten out before us, and the *Laws* of our Land have fenced in; for differences in matters of *Speculation*, and points disputable, could not hurt us, or lay us open to danger, if some among us were but *True* to our *Common* Interest; if they would but stick to our *Establishments*, which are the *Rampiers*, and *Bulwarks* of the Church; if they would but be as zealous for *Christ*, as the *Turk* is for *Mahomet*; or, as the *Jesuit* is for Him, whom some suppose to be *Antichrist*. Nothing in all Probability can give us Rest to our Souls, and Security to our Nation, and Prosperity to our Religion, but this one thing, to seek after the good Old Way: Men may please themselves with Fancies, and try many fruitless Conclusions, and make experiments of this, and of that *Expedient*, but the World will see in the end, that nothing but

but the observing of the Old Path will put us into a good posture.

4. But yet, fourthly, there is one huge Advantage more, which the performance of this matter would bring unto us, and that indeed which I shall chiefly insist on, and it is this; That it would justify our *whole Cause* before all the World, and cut off all *just* occasion from those, who wrongfully upbraid us all for *Innovators*, and under that pretence trepan many a Soul. *Where* (say they) *was your Religion before Luther?* Now the *Dissenter* is not able to answer this Question *truly, thoroughly, or to satisfaction*; because a great part of his Religion was *no where* in the world, no not in *Luther's* days; and so the *Romanists* have a continual and unanswerable Objection to fling in his teeth. But the *Church of England*, as it is establish'd, hath a fair and full Plea, that her whole Religion was *long* before Popery; that it was in the world in the days of the *Apostles*; that it was in the *Liturgies* of the *primitive Churches*; that it is to be seen still in the *Tomes* of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*; nay, she can justify her Cause out of those *very Writers* in *communion* with the *Roman Church*, both before and since the time of *Luther*, whose Books they (like dishonest men) have corrected, purged, and mangled by the *Expurgatory Indices*, lest they should tell tales.

I do not intend now to vindicate the *Doctrine* of our Church in this respect; for that is not so much to my present purpose, and our Faith hath been by others abundantly proved, to be exactly consonant to the Sence of *Scripture*, and to the Faith of all *Orthodox* Christians in the purest and best Ages; and by this we are ready to *stand or fall*, let the Papist bark at us till his Tongue and his Heart aketh.

But my purpose is to justify the *Government and Discipline* of our Church to be the same which was used in Christian Churches from the beginning; and that against a sort of men among our selves who accuse us of *Superstition*, as the Papists

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do accuse us of *Schism*, though God be blessed we are guilty of *neither*. We tell our Dissenting Brethren, that *our* way, which they have forsaken, is indeed the *old* Path; we affirm our Government to have been *Primitive* and *Apostolical*; and we say too, that our *Discipline, Rites, and way of worship* is the same generally which was establish'd in the *first* and *best* times; and this I shall endeavour now to prove in some measure by instancing in particulars, that men who desire satisfaction herein may see, that the Frame of our Religion is *de facto* very ancient; and that on *that* account (besides *many* others) it ought to be *upheld* and *maintain'd*, (which is the thing I have already argued for;) and withall, that our Charge of *Innovation* would be *unjust* and *ridiculous*, did we but unanimously resolve to tread in this Path: our *Brethren* then would be free from guilt as well as *our selves*.

1. The first thing to be spoken to is *our Form of Government*, I mean our *Episcopacy*, the thing that is such an *Eye-sore* to Papists, Atheists, and Schismatics. It is clear, that for 1500 years it was the *only* kind of Government in the Church. And whatever some Learned men have pretended, I believe you can scarcely instance in any ancient Churches, *perfectly* and *completely* formed, that were not under the care and government of Bishops, (in our present Sence of the word;) Bishops presiding over them either *in person*, or by their *Authority*. Those great Luminaries of the Church, to whom the World hath been and is so much beholding, the *Austins, Cyprians, Chrysostoms, Basils, Cyrils, Gregories, and Ambroses*, were famous and renowned *Prelates*, some of them *Metropolitans*, some *Patriarchs*, all of them *Bishops*. Those Fathers of the *third Century* after the Apostles, (as *Theodore, Jerom, and others*) who thought the Names of Bishop and Presbyter to be *indifferently* and *promiscuously* used in the Scripture, did not mean to *impair* the just *honour* and *dignity* of Bishops; for they acknowledged, that though the *Names* were in common, yet the *Office, Power, and Orders*, were *distinct*, (especially as to *some* things, as that of *Ordination*;) and they all taught, that even
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in the *Apostles* times, or at least before S. John's death, there were three several Degrees of Ministers in the Church; and that as *Presbyters* were superiour to *Deacons*, so *Bishops* were superiour to both. Those Writers of the second Century after the Apostles, as *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and (if you will reckon him) *Clemens Alexandrinus*, do make express mention of three ranks of *Clergy-men* in their days, viz. *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*; and of these, the *Bishops* to have been in chief. Lastly, though it is suppos'd, that the Testimonies of Antiquity touching the Constitution of the Church, be most of all wanting in that Age, which was the very next to the Holy Apostles, yet by the plain and pregnant evidences out of *Irenæus*, *Hegesippus*, *Dionysius* of *Corinth*, *Clement* of *Rome*, and out of those *Canons* which go under the Name of the *Apostles*, (many whereof were framed and observed in that Age) it doth appear to any considerate and indifferent person, that certain particular Men called *Bishops* were in those early days of Christianity entrusted with the *Superintendency* and *Authority* over whole Churches. But above all, the Epistles of *Ignatius*, a Contemporary of the Apostles themselves, yield us so many and such strong Arguments of this matter, that they who have been *Schismatics* from the *Catholic* Church in this particular of Government, have used all their Art and Skill to decry those Epistles, as spurious and fictitious, though the late Reverend Dr. *Hammond*, and the present *Bishop* of *Chester*, have laboured with so much Learning and Success to prove those Epistles to be the genuine issue of St. *Ignatius*, that they have said enough to lay this whole Controversie asleep, unless Men will expect that an Angel from Heaven shall Preach to us to bury our Disputes, as well as Summon us with the sound of a Trumpet, to come out of our Graves. Briefly; the most ancient Ecclesiastical writers, where they reckon up the Orders of those who were intrusted with the work of the Ministry, do so carefully distinguish between *Bishops* as the first Order, and *Presbyters* as the second, that the most Learned of that Party, who are no good friends to *Episcopal Government*, have been forced to confess, that *Episcopacy* was the only Government of the Church

Tert. de Bapt.
Orig. hom. 7.
in Jer. & in
Mat. tract. 24.
Clem. Alex.
de Gnost.

Iren. lib. 3. c. 3.
Hegesip. in
Euseb. Hist.
Eccles. lib. 4.
c. 22. Id. de
Dionys. c. 23.
Clem. Rom.
Ep. ad Cor.

Dissertationes
vindicie.

in the most Primitive times, that is, in the *very next Age* to the Apostles; but that Age they do except; and we shall see the Practice of that Age too anon.

In the mean time it may be Objected, that Antiquity is an *incompetent* witness to prove, that Episcopacy was the settled form of Government in the *first Ages*; and that upon these three accounts. 1. Because we have no *clear* and *particular* account of the *uniformity* of Episcopal Government in all Apostolical Plantations; so that for ought we know it *might vary* in some places. But this is a fallacious way of arguing, because a *Negative* is not to be proved from the silence of Antiquity, as to the constitution of *some* parts of Christendom. Though we have no exact Records of what St. Thomas did in Parthia, or St. Andrew in Scythia, or some other Apostles in their respective *parochias*, Dioceses and Jurisdications, yet it doth not follow, that they either did, or might set up *another* form of Government, different from that in other Churches. When by the joint-Testimony of the first writers, and their followers, we find, that Episcopal Chairs were set up in all the Western parts of Asia, and in sundry other Countries, Provinces, and Cities; when Ireneus, who was Polycarp's Disciple, and but one remove from the Apostles, tells us plainly and peremptorily, that Bishops were instituted by the Apostles, and that he was able to *enumerate* (but that he should be too prolix) *Omnium Ecclesiarum Successiones*, those (Bishops) who succeeded the Apostles in all Churches: and when St. Clement, who was St. Paul's fellow-labourer, tells us expressly, that the Apostles preaching through Countries and Cities, ordained the first Fruits of them to be Bishops and Deacons, for those who should afterwards believe; we have no reason to doubt, but that Episcopal Government was erected *every where*, though by the iniquity of times some Records of particular Churches are lost unto us, which were extant in former Ages. They who argue from the defect of Testimonies, that another Government there *might* be, would do well to shew us from Testimonies extant, that another Government there *was*.

Hier. in Catal.

Iren. lib. 3. c. 3.

Phil. 4. 3.

Clem. Ep.

P. 54.

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2. It may be pretended, that Antiquity is no competent witness of Episcopal Government settled in the first Ages, because those Testimonies *we have*, do not give us a particular Catalogue of those Bishops who succeeded the Apostles. And to this purpose is urged that of *Eusebius*, that it is not easie to tell, what, or who they were, that were appointed to feed the Church, setting aside those whom we pick out of the writings of *St. Paul*. Now to this Allegation there are four things in Answer. 1. That *Eusebius* speaks only of the Bishops in *Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia*, and *Bithynia*. 2. That he declared it not altogether impossible, but somewhat hard (meaning, for him, who was at some considerable distance from the first Age) to give account of the Apostles Successors in all those Churches. 3. That the difficulty was, not as to the Succession it self, but as to the particular Names of the succeeding Bishops (for so *Ruffinus* his Interpreter did understand it.) 4. But all this is nothing to our present purpose, because *Eusebius* could not readily tell all the Names of the Bishops which had been before him, it doth not follow, that there had been no such thing as a settled *Episcopacy*. For who can reasonably expect, that there should be an exact Register of the Names of all the Bishops in the World? Though in the Age next to the Apostles we find *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Polycarp* of *Smyrna*, and *Onesimus* of *Ephesus*, and *Dama* of *Magnesia*, and *Polybins* at *Trallis*, and *Papias* of *Hierapolis*, and *Melito* of *Sardis*, and *Symeon* (the Son of *Cleophas*) of *Jerusalem*, and *Palmeas* of *Amastria*, and *Thraseas* of *Eumenia*, and *Sagaris* of *Laodicea*, yet 'tis not to be wondred at, if we meet not with the Names of many more, who presided over other Churches in those parts of *Asia*; and yet 'tis easie to gather from *Polycrates* his Epistle to *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, that all the *Asiatic* Churches were under the Government of *Episcopacy*. Again, though in the same Age we find *Pothinus* to have been Bishop of *Lyons*, and *Clement* of *Rome*, and *Denys* the Areopagite of *Athens*, and another *Denys* of *Corinth*, who mentions *Philippus* Bishop of *Gortina*, and *Sinytus* Bishop of *Gnossus*; I say, though

Euseb. l. 3. c. 4.

Quorum nomina non est facile explicare per singulos.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. l. 5. c. 24.

*Iren. ubi supra.
Idem affirmat
Tertullianus,
de Præsc. Adv.
Her.*

though the Names of these and other Primitive Bishops in the very *next* Century to the Apostles, do still stand upon good Record, yet 'tis not *modest*, *ingenuous*, or *reasonable*, for any Man to require us, either to nominate *every* one of the Apostles Successors in *all* parts of the World, or to lay down our pretensions of a *settled* Episcopacy in the Ages *next* to them; especially since *Ireneus* hath told us, that *he* was able (though we are not) to reckon up the Bishops who succeeded the Apostles in *all* the Churches. Were there no exact List of the former Prelates of *England*, yet I hope it would *not follow*, that these Churches have not been all along under the Government of Episcopacy. It will trouble the *best* Antiquary to tell us all the old Bishops among the ancient *Britains* and *Scots*; and yet we know, that they had Bishops before the *Saxons* came in hither (which was about *Anno 450*) and many Ages *before* the Bishops of *Rome*, claimed *any* Jurisdiction in this Island.

3. But then *supposing* a Succession of Bishops in the Apostolical Churches, nevertheless it is Objected, *Thirdly*, that Antiquity is no sufficient witness of a *settled* Episcopacy in the first Ages, because the Ancients speak *ambiguously* and *doubtfully* of those Bishops, calling them *sometimes* Presbyters; so that we have no *certain* account, whether those Men were *superiour* to Presbyters in *Order*, *Power*, and *Authority*; or whether they were above them only in a *Degree* of *Honour*, like the Chairmen in Assemblies, or like the *Archontes* at *Athens*, and the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, who had an *equal* power, but gave a *deference* of *Honour* and *Dignity* to one above the rest. Now, I cannot but wonder, that Men should *invent* doubts where there are *none*: for nothing is more clear, then that the Bishops thus succeeding the Apostles, had a *Superiority* of *Power* over the rest of the Clergy, not only to *ordain*, but also to *judge* and *censure* them, without any *Authority* given them by a *Bench* of *Presbyters*, though not always without their *Aid* and *Advice*. For the removing of this third Scruple then, these five things are to be noted. 1. That in many of the writers of the first and second Age after Apostles, we find a *plain distinction* between
Bishops,

Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, as three distinct Orders.

2. That in *not one* of these writers can we find, that this Superiority of Bishops over Presbyters was thought *then* (what ever was imagined in after-times) to be *founded* on any *act, vote,* or *consent* of the Church, as *bestowing* this Power upon them.

3. But on the contrary, that the care of all Ecclesiastical matters was acknowledged then to belong to the Bishops; that

Presbyters were charged to *obey* the Bishops in all things, and to do nothing *without* them, or *contrary* to their Sentence, is plain and evident out of *Ignatius*, and other writers of *that Age*:

and all this was grounded upon the *Sacredness* and *Superiority* of their *Power*, which they all owned to have been derived to them (not from the Presbytery, but) from *God* and *Christ*, by *Divine* appointment and institution, and through the *hands* of the

Apostles, who left them for their *Successors*, — *Suum ipsorum locum Magisterii tradentes* — (as *Irenaeus* said) *delivering to*

them their own Office, Power, and Authority. 4. Therefore, whereas it is alleaged, that a Father or two of that Age, do sometimes comprehend Bishops under the general Name of Presbyters, it is granted, that the *Prelates* were so *humble* and *modest*, as upon occasion to stile themselves *Presbyters*, thereby giving a deference of *Honour* to those as were *such only*. But yet they looked upon the *Offices* to be *distinct*; and saith *St. Clements*, the *Apostles* fore-seeing that a contention would arise about the Name of Episcopacy, for that reason they appointed the Orders

aforesaid, and divided their parts and Offices among them (meaning, to the Bishop his Office, and to the Presbyter his) that they being dead, other fit Men might succeed them in their Ministry, Office, or Apostolic function. Now, how all this can consist with that novel pretence, that Presbyters had an equall Power with Bishops, and that Bishops had only an Honorary Dignity above Presbyters, seemeth to me to be altogether unimaginable.

5. But fifthly, to put all out of doubt, we are beholding to a very Learned Prelate of our Church for Two useful and choice

Observations, which we may well take upon his Credit. First, that no writer of that Age next to the Apostles did so

promiscuously use the Names of Bishop and Presbyter, as to give

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Can. Ap. 39.

Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Ep. ad Cor.
pag 57.

Vindic. Episc.
Ignat. p. 2.
c. 13.

the *Name* of Bishop to one who was only a *Presbyter* of the *second Order*. Though *Bishops* were sometimes called *Presbyters* (the *greater Office including the less*) yet that a *bare Presbyter* was ever then called a *Bishop*, is *not* to be proved by any *one* instance out of the *Monuments* of those times. Secondly, that no writer of that Age did ever give the *Name* of *Presbyter* to a *Bishop*, when he *reckoned up* the *Degrees and Orders* of *Churchmen*, and where he spake of *some single Minister then living*. So that, as you shall *never* find a *Presbyter* called *Bishop*, so you shall *rarely* find *Bishops* called *Presbyters*; and where they are so, the writer mentioneth things in a *lump*, not *counting up* the *Degrees orderly*, nor speaking of one single person of his time. With these two *positive Assertions* I shall rest, till I see some body to have either the *confidence to contradict*, or the *Learning to confute* them.

By what has been briefly said, it may appear to any unprejudiced person, that in the *earliest* and *first* times, when Christianity was but *green* in the *World*, the Churches were under the *Government of Bishops*. We find innumerable instances of it in those Churches planted by *St. Paul, St. Peter, St. John*, and other *Apostles*: We find in undoubted *Monuments* of the best *Antiquity*, the very *Names* mentioned of several *Primitive Bishops*, who presided over some *Apostolical Churches*, and a *certain Succession* avowed of *other Bishops*, in *other Churches*, whose particular *Names* do *not* occur: We find, that these *Bishops* were then looked upon, as a *distinct Order* from the rest of the *Clergy*, sometimes called *Bishops* in *contra-distinction* to *Presbyters*, and *always* own'd as *Superiour* unto them, not by any *Ecclesiastical consent* or grant for the avoiding of confusion only, but by an *Antecedent Charter*, derived to them from the *Apostles*. All which do abundantly satisfy me of the *Truth* of that declaration of the *Church of England*, that it is *evident to all Men diligently reading Holy Scripture*, and *ancient Authors*, that from the *Apostles time*, there have been these *Orders of Ministers in Christs Church*, *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*. And in that our Church mentioneth the reading of

Pref. to the
form of making
or ordaining
Bishops, &c.

of Holy Scripture it is clear that *in her account* she taketh in the very *times of the Apostles*, and meaneth, that from the Scripture it may be proved, that Episcopacy *was erected* while the *Apostles* were *living*.

Which shall give me warrant to take one step more backward from the Age *next* to the Apostles, to the *Apostolical Age* it *self*, and to affirm, that *even then*, there was such a Sacred Order of men, as we now call *properly, strictly*, and by way of *eminence and distinction*, *Bishops*. Now, that we meet with the *Name*, *frequently* in our Translation, and *oftner* in the Original, is altogether out of doubt. The grand Question is about the thing, whether in *those* days, the *Office, Power, and Order* of a *Bishop* was *distinct* from, and in any respect *superiour* unto the *Office, Power, and Order* of a *Presbyter*? And though the Sence and Practice of the succeeding Age, be enough to make us *morally* certain, that it was so (because it cannot be reasonably suppos'd, that men so harassed by Persecution, so zealous for Truth and Honesty, and so careful to observe the Apostles orders (even in the *least* things) *could or would* conspire together to make an *universal* defection from so *main* a part of Christianity, as the *Government* of the Church is,) yet setting aside that consideration, to me it seemeth obvious and certain, that Christ, the *great Bishop of our Souls*, *erected* an Episcopal Power, and that the Apostles *continued* and *propagated* it (I mean still a Power, above that belonging to Presbyters;) This I shall endeavour briefly to shew; 1. By making good the *Affirmative*; and then, Secondly, By clearing up those difficulties which are usually brought from Scripture to prove the *Negative*.

1. For probation of Episcopacy, we begin with the *Ordination* of the *Twelve Apostles*, which evidently *differ'd* from the Mission of the Seventy two Disciples, in whom 'tis conceived, that the Office and Power of *Presbyters* was founded. Now the *Twelve Apostles* were *indeed Bishops*, though they were not clenched to any *particular Sees and Chairs*, which the ne-

cessities of those times would not give way to. For the clearing of this, it is observable, that the Mission of the Twelve Apostles (as to their *own Persons*) was extraordinary, and that which none could pretend to in following Ages; because they were sent *immediately* by Christ himself, and had a *common* jurisdiction and care over all the Churches that should be, and were endowed with a Power of working *Miracles*, to confirm the Truth of their Doctrine: But then their Authority and Charge (as to their *Function*) was an *ordinary*, and *standing Power*, that was not to dye with them, nor to cease (as Miracles did) after a little interval, but such as was to be *transmitted* to others from time to time, and so to *continue* to the Worlds end. Now, if it doth appear, First, that the Twelve had a *Superiour power* over Presbyters; Secondly, that this Power was to be *imparted* and *communicated* to their Successors for ever; Thirdly, that this was no other than the *Ordinary Episcopal Power*: Then this will suffice to shew, that the Twelve Apostles were truly and indeed Bishops, in their *ordinary capacity*; and consequently, that Episcopal Power was erected in *their Time*. First, then, That the Twelve Apostles had a *superior power* over Presbyters, appeareth not only from the *Extent* of their Commission, which compared with that given to the Seventy two *Disciples*, was much *larger*, (for as the Father sent Christ, so Christ, sent them, with full power to Teach and Govern the Church, according to God's Will, and to *ordain Successors*, and in all respects, to execute that power, which he was invested with, and had delegated unto them:) but moreover it is clear from the *Exercise* of this their Authority; for they *ordained* Deacons, *Act. 6.* They *Ordained Matthias*; and took him into the number of Apostles, who before was one of the Seventy two, (as *Eusebius* tells us twice,) they made *Decrees*, and sent them abroad to be observed in all Churches, *Act. 16.* They had power of *Censure* and *Jurisdiction* (every single Apostle had) over inferior Presbyters; for St. John threatened ambitious *Diotrephes*, that when he came, he would remember his deeds; meaning, that he would correct him with the Rod of his Apostolical Power: And so were *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* deli-

Joh. 20. 21.

Act. 1.

Euseb. lib. 2.

c. 1.

3 Joh.

delivered unto Satan, by St. Paul, after that he was ordained an Apostle. This is enough to shew the Superiority of the Apostles power. 2. Again; This power of theirs was *no Temporary* thing, that was to vanish with their breath, but that which was to be communicated to others, to be transmitted unto Posterity, and to hold as long as there should be need of it, that is, as long as the world should hold. For so the promise of Christ runs, *Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.* Here our Lord did engage, not to be with their Persons alone (for they were to dye within a short time,) but to be with their Successors too; that is, to assist their Function forever. (And truly, had not Christ assisted it marvellously, it would have fallen ere now, since it hath been so lustily bear'd at, especially in these last Ages.) 'Tis plain, that our Saviour intended, that the Apostles power should continue to the Worlds end; I mean, their Ordinary power, which was for the Regiment of the Church. For, their Extraordinary power, of speaking all Languages, and working Miracles (which was for the Planting of the Church) was not to last long, but to cease after a while: So that it was their ordinary and standing power, to Administer Sacraments, to Preach, to Govern, to Ordain, and to exercise the power of the Keys, this was that which was to hold, to be delivered and handed down from Generation to Generation. Now, if there be any truth in that Promise of Christ, this Apostolic Power and Office doth last, and still continue, and is even at this hour in the World. 3. Thirdly then, this Power we speak of is really that which we now call Episcopacy. The Apostles Function, is part of it in Deacons, more of it in Presbyters, and all of it in Bishops; there the whole Ordinary power centers, and is united. The Twelve were called (as their immediate Successors were many times also called) Apostles, in respect of their Mission and Authority from Christ; but in respect of their Office and Inspection over Christ's Church, they were indeed Bishops. They were the first possessors of Episcopacy; and the Bishops now are their Successors to the Apostolate. 'Tis plain, that they themselves, and the Church following them, understood them to be no more than Bishops,

*V. Bouli Scho-
lia in confit.
Apost. And Dr.
Hammonds
Pref. to St.
James.*

*Thw Emene-
lus' dñs
ad. 301 678 est.
Act. 1. 20.*

*Epiph. lib. 1.
cont. Carpocr.*

*Cypr. ep. 65.
ad Bogatianum.*

*Quaest. in vet.
et Nov. Test.
q. 97.*

in their ordinary capacity. For, as on the one hand, many Bishops, besides the first Twelve, were called Apostles (so, Timothy, Titus, Clement, and abundance more, had the Title given them, which is the ground of that conjecture of *Albaspineus*, and others; that the *Canones & Constitutiones Apostolorum*, were the Canons and Constitutions -- *virorum Apostolicorum*, or of these Secondary Apostles) so on the other hand, the Primary, or Twelve Apostles were looked upon to have been Bishops. I am sure, when St. Peter moved, that one should be chosen to succeed in the Apostolate of Judas, he look'd upon it as a Succession into his Bishoprick, or Episcopal Office; that was *καὶ ἡ ἀποστολή* the part of Apostleship, which each of the Twelve had, namely, a Function and power Episcopal. And accordingly were the Ancients wont to style the Apostles, Bishops. So Epiphanius saith of Peter and Paul, that they were Apostles (in respect of their Mission) and Bishops (in respect of their charge:) And St. Cyprian bids Deacons to remember, that our Lord chose Apostles, id est, Episcopos & Præpositos, that is, Bishops and Governours; and tells them moreover, that the Apostles ordained Deacons to be Ministers to the Church, and to them, in the discharge of their Episcopal Office, *Episcopatus sui & Ecclesie ministros*. And St. Austin is positive, that when our Lord laid his hands upon the Apostles, *ordinavit eos Episcopos*, he ordained them Bishops. Besides many more Testimonies to this purpose, which are ready at hand, and which yet I omit, because this was evidently the Sence of the Ancients; because they frequently affirm, that Bishops are the Apostles successors, that they hold their Place, and are of their Degree, and come after them in their Office and Function; and the like, which they would not have said, had they not judged the Apostles themselves to have been (I mean, in their ordinary capacity) no more, and no less than Bishops.

2. Which thing, had it been well heeded, might have prevented some Learned Tracts, which have been written against the Divine Right of Episcopacy. For, to determin, that Christ ordained not Episcopacy, seemeth to me to be an Affirmation, that

that He ordained *not* Apostles, for they were invested with that *Episcopal power*, which, God be blessed, hath continued in the Church hitherto, notwithstanding all the gainsayings of *Core*. Now this consideration leadeth us on to the next; *viz.* That as the Apostles *received* this power *themselves*, so it is proveable out of their Writings, that they *imparted* it to *others*, and invested *them* with their *Apostolick*, or *Episcopal* Authority. To shew this, I shall make choice of three special Instances, and they are these. 1. First, though the Scripture doth not expressly & *totidem verbis* tell us, that St. James was Bishop of *Jerusalem*, yet that he *was so*, we are as certain as the most *v. Grov. in ep. Ja.* Ancient Records can make us. And indeed St. Luke in his History of the Apostles Acts, doth yield us such *fair probabilities* of this thing, that the Testimonies of succeeding times seem to be *unquestionably* True. For in *Act. 21. 18.* we read, that when St. Paul was returned from his Circuit to *Jerusalem*, the next day, he and his company went in unto *James*, and all the *Elders* were present. Now certainly, *James* would not have been named *distinctly and by himself*, had he not had a *preheminence* over the *College of Elders* that were assembled with him. St. Luke singles him out, as the Person to whom St. Paul did after a *particular* manner address himself; though all the *Elders* were there present, yet they went in unto *James*; intimating plainly, that he was the *President* over that venerable Society. And to confirm this, it is likewise observable what is related of this St. James, at the famous Convention at *Jerusalem, Act. 15.* The occasion of that Synod, was a Controversie, about the *Necessity and Use of Circumcision*, and great disputes there were about it at the Council. But at last, when *Peter*, and the rest, had given their *Opinions* of the matter, St. James *determines* it, and puts an end to the debate by his *decisive Sentence*, *ἐγὼ ἀποφασίζω* -- I determine, Judge, and give Sentence saith he, *vers. 19.* and in his Judgement and Determination all did *acquiesce*. This is a plain Argument, that St. James was then Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For otherwise, why did St. Paul so *particularly* apply himself to St. James? and why did the *other Apostles* (and even *Peter himself*) rest in the *Determination*.

Euseb. l. 2. c. 1.

Διαδεχόμενος
ἐκκλησίαν.

c. 1. -- 3.

c. 2. -- 1. 2.

— 10. 11.

nation of St. James? Nay, why should St. James take upon him to decide the Controversie? For it is certain, that this James was not one of the Twelve Apostles. All do agree, that he had been a Disciple; and some think, he was our Lords Cousin; others, do conceive, that he was our Lords Brother in Law, the Son of Joseph, by his former Wife. He is called, by way of distinction, James the Just: And if he was not Bishop of Jerusalem, how is it imaginable, that he should have had at those meetings of the Apostles, such Eminence, Precedency, and Authority? The Truth is, Eusebius tells, that the Apostles declined the Honour of being in the Chair, and See of Jerusalem, and gave it unto this James, as for other Reasons, so for this, because he was our Saviours near Relation; and so he took the Government of the Church with the Apostles, saith Eusebius; which some do understand, as if he was only taken into the number of the Apostles, (having been a bare Disciple before;) but this is a palpable mistake, touching the sense of Eusebius; for, saith he, this James the Just, was made, Ἐπίσκοπος Ἱερουσαλὴμ Bishop of Jerusalem; and a World of Testimonies more there are to confirm it. Secondly, my next instance is in Timothy, who was ordained by St. Paul himself, the Presbytery concurring, as Approver of his Ordination. That he was an Apostolical Prelate, we have the joint Testimonies of all the Primitive Authors, which speak of him; some affirming him to have been Metropolitan of Asia, and all confessing him to have been Bishop of Ephesus. Out of those two Epistles, which St. Paul sent him, it appears, that he himself constituted and fixt him at Ephesus, requiring him ναῦσθαι to abide and settle there, 1 Tim. 1. 3. Ephesus was the place of his Residence, unless, happily the necessities of the Church did oblige him to consult St. Paul, (for himself was young) or the necessities of St. Paul required his attendance; (for he was his Convert.) 2. We find, that he was to restrain Preachers within the boundaries of Truth, and to charge some, that they should teach no other Doctrine. He was to order the public Service of God, and

and to take care, that decency and a grave *decorum* might be in Christian Assemblies. He was to see, that such as would be Bishops and Deacons, should be rightly qualified, and him self to keep up his Authority, by being an Example of Believers. He was to allot a double Portion (of maintenance) to Elders, that Ruled well (under him) and laboured in the Word. He was to take cognizance of the irregularities of *Presbyters*, but with this caution, that he should not receive an Accusation against an Elder, but before two or three Witnesses: And such as sinned, he was to Rebuke before all. He was to hold Ordinations, but with this Proviso, That he should lay hands suddenly on no man. Briefly, St. Paul gave him a plenitude of that power, which he had himself: And, if to Model Churches, to prescribe Rules, to confer holy Orders, to command, examin, judge, and reprehend Offenders Openly, (and even *Presbyters* themselves) I say, if these are parts of Episcopal Power, then was Timothy a Bishop indeed: And I should be loth to see half that Charter given to a single *Presbyter*, as is here given to Timothy, by this Great Apostle. 3. The third instance to shew, that the Apostles settled the Episcopal form of Government, is Titus, whom Antiquity acknowledgeth to have been Metropolitan of Crete, (an Island, consisting of an hundred Cities) and to have been intrusted with the power of Modelling and Governing of all the Churches there. That St. Paul left him there, is clear from his own words, and questionless, his design was, that Titus should remain and continue there, unless summoned away upon some Emergency, and for a Time only; and even then St. Paul promised to send either Artemas, or Tychicus, to be his Vicar and Procurator in his absence. Now, that Titus was indeed a Bishop, superior in Authority to *Presbyters*, and invested with a superintendency and Power over all his Clergy, doth plainly appear, from the Authority he had both to Ordain and to Judge of so many Bishops, as St. Chrysostom declares he had. For this cause it was, that when the Apostle himself could not stay in Crete, to put every thing into due Order, but was obliged

c. 3. -- 2.

c. 4. -- 12.

c. 5. -- 17.

— 19.

— 20.

— 22.

Tit. I. 5.

c. 3. -- 12.

Chrysost. Hom. in Tit. 1.

to

Tit. I. 5, II. &
C. 2. 10.

to be gone, he left *Titus* behind him, to set in order the things that were wanting, (and unfertled at *S. Paul's* departure;) to ordain *Bishops*, and to dispose of them into Cities, (into every City one;) to provide against the *Heterodox* Preaching of Deceivers, to stop their mouths, to silence them, and to rebuke them sharply, and to admonish Hereticks once and again, and then to excommunicate them upon their Contumacy. This was *Titus* his Office; and this was plainly the Exercise of *Episcopal* Power and Jurisdiction. And to confirm this further two things are observable: First, that this Authority was given to *Titus* alone, not to a College of *Presbyters*, (which 'tis presumable *S. Paul* appointed before his going away) but to *Titus* singly; for this cause left I thee in *Crete* that thou shouldest set things in order, that thou shouldest ordain, &c. This argues a *supreme* and a *sole* Superintendency and Authority in *Titus*. Secondly, that there was a necessity for *S. Paul's* committing this Authority unto him; for otherwise the things that were wanting could not be set in order, nor could Ordinations or Censures be there: for this cause left I thee in *Crete*. Which is a manifest Argument, that the *Presbyters* in *Crete* had no power either to ordain, or to excommunicate, or to do such acts of Jurisdiction; for then why was *Titus* left to those purposes? And yet we see *S. Paul* left him, and for this cause left him; so that unless we will offer violence to the Sence of Scripture, we must confess that *Titus* was left and fix'd at *Crete*, as *Bishop* and *Metropolitan* of the whole Island.

Const. Apost.
I. 7. C. 10.

To these three Apostolical Bishops I might add many more, whose Names we meet with in Ecclesiastical Writers, either occasionally and scatteringly mentioned, (as in *Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, and divers others;) or more orderly collected, (as in the Book of *Constitutions* commonly called *Apostolical*.) But because the truth of this dependeth upon the Credit of Church History, (which yet we have no reason to question) I shall forbear further Instances, having already (and I hope sufficiently) shewed out of Scripture, that the Order and Authority of *Bishops* was in being even in the *Apostles* days, and from them continued and transmitted to succeeding Ages.

2. Having done then with the Proof of the *Affirmative*, I proceed next with what brevity I can, to answer that *grand Argument*, usually brought to make good the *Negative*, viz. that the *Names* of Bishop and Presbyter are *indifferently* and *promiscuously* used in the Apostolical Writings, as if onely *one* Order of men were meant by them. As for instance, in *Tit. 1. 2, 5*. Paul tells Titus, that he left him in Crete, as for other reasons, so for this, that he should Ordain *Elders* (or *Presbyters*) in every City. Then *ver. 6*. he layeth down the Qualifications of these *Elders*; and (as a reason for it) he saith *ver. 7*. for a *Bishop* must be blameless, &c. Here a Bishop and a Presbyter seem to be, *not two* distinct Orders, but *one and the same*; and so some say, that by a *Presbyter* is here meant a *Bishop*; and others affirm, that by a *Bishop* is here meant a *Presbyter*, and hence are willing to conclude, that in the Apostles time they were *not* thought to be *two distinct* Offices, but *Bishop* and *Presbyter* to be *one*, both in *Name*, *Order*, and *Authority*: and so *Prelacy* must fall to the ground, without any help from *scripture*.

For the removing of this Difficulty three things are to be observed: 1. That *Aerius* the Heretic was the *first* that ever found out, or insisted on, this Community and Identity of *Names*; for the Writers before him (in the *first* and *second* Age after the Apostles) did not discourse at *this* rate, could not discover such a *promiscuous* use of the words. 2. The Catholick Writers after *Aerius*, who thought as he did, that the *Names* of Bishop and Presbyter were common in the Apostles days; did not yet think, as that Heretic did affirm, that the *Office* and *Order* were ever the *same*. No; they held, that though *Bishops* were sometimes called *Presbyters*, and *Presbyters* *Bishops*, yet *Bishops* were a rank of Ministers above *Presbyters* both in *Degree* and *Authority*, even in the Age of the *Apostles*. 3. But then there is one Observation more, for which I must thank a very *Learned Prelate* of our Church, viz. that notwithstanding this Construction and late Pretence of the Pro-

Vindic. Epist.
Ignat. p. 184.

miscuous use of the words, yet it doth not appear, that the Scripture gives the Titles of Bishop and Presbyter *indifferently* and *promiscuously* to those of *both* Orders. There is no necessity for us to admit of a community of Names, because those places which seem to infer this Community may be fairly understood, though we do appropriate the name of Bishop to a Bishop, and the name of Presbyter to a Presbyter. This will appear from a particular view of the several Texts; which if we can understand without being obliged to confound Names, then farwell that grand Principle, which the *Classical Divines* have taken for granted, and which is the main and sole Argument to prove a parity and equality of power among all Church Officers, above the Degree of Deacons. One famous place alleagued is *Acts 20.17.* there S. Paul sends to Ephesus, and calls the Elders (or Presbyters) of the Church to him at Miletus; and then he saith *ver. 28.* Take heed unto your selves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you *ἐποβουλάς* overseers, or (as it should be rendered) Bishops. Here (say they) the Names of Presbyters and Bishops is given to the same men, and so the Office and Power of these men was the same. But I pray, my Masters, why so? What necessity is there for this positive Assertion? Were none with S. Paul at this time but Presbyters?

Iren. adv. Hær.
l. i. c. 14.

Yes, Irenæus, who lived near the Apostles time, will tell you, that S. Paul called together both Bishops and Presbyters. Were none there but the Clergy of the City of Ephesus? Yes, the same ancient Writer tells you, *that the Clergy of all the Cities round about were there too; In Miletu convocatis Episcopis & Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso, & à reliquis proximis civitatibus* — The Bishops and Presbyters were called from Ephesus, and from other neighbouring Cities. And indeed S. Pauls words do intimate thus much; for saith he *ver. 18.* *Te know from the first day I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons.* Now S. Paul had been with the Bishops and Presbyters of other Cities in Asia besides Ephesus; and S. Pauls speaking to them, and appealing to their Knowledge of his Behaviour, doth plainly argue, that they were with him now; and that this Convention did consist of very many of the Asiatic Bishops and

Pres-

Presbyters. There is then neither necessity nor reason to imagine, that onely the inferiour sort of Clergy appeared at the Apostle's Summons; much less that he should call them Bishops. Rather it is presumable, that as he spake to *all in general*, so that he directed his speech chiefly to the most honourable and principal part of that Reverend Assembly, and that he called them *Bishops* who were so in truth; and told them that the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops over their respective Charges, so addressing himself immediately and more particularly to them, whose Office it was to superintend the Flock of Christ, and to obviate the Incurſion of Wolves. And thus this place may be fairly understood, without confounding of Names, without offering violence to History, or without robbing the Bishops, to give their Title and Honour unto Presbyters; because it is reasonable to conceive, that the Apostle convened Bishops and Presbyters too, and spake directly and immediately to the Prelates, (of whom 'tis likely that Timothy was the chief;) and to the rest accommodating himself collaterally, secundarily, and by way of reflexion. Grot. in loc.

Another place which has been hotly urged in this Controversie, is that mentioned before in Tit. 1. 5. 6, 7. where Titus is left in Crete — *ἵνα κατὰ πόλιν προεβυτέας*, that he might constitute Presbyters city by city, if any were blameless, the husband of one wife — for a bishop must be blameless, saith the Apostle. Now they who accuse Bishops as Corah did Moses and Aaron, for taking too much upon them, triumph mightily from this Text, as if the Names of Bishop and Presbyter were clearly synonymous: But upon due examination we find, that the Apostle's Sence doth not at all carry it this way, much less is there a necessity for us to understand him after this manner. For all that S. Paul requires of Titus here, seemeth to be this, that he would advance the Presbyters which were under him, and ordain them Bishops, and dispose of them into Cities, fixing each of them to a certain Cure: that is, such of them as were approved men; for a Bishop must be blameless. This Sence is easie, and the thing is probable. For questionless there were many

many Presbyters now in *Crete*, (whether ordain'd by *S. Paul* before his departure, or by *Titus* himself afterwards, I will not dispute; but many Presbyters there were) it being impossible for *Titus* to take a due care of so considerable an Island without Assistants. 'Tis likely therefore, that when *S. Paul* was going away, either he left Presbyters behind him, or appointed *Titus* to ordain some, to take part of his burthen; and advised him not to prefer them hastily, but to prove them first, and then to ordain them Bishops, having made sufficient experiment of their Abilities and Fitness for so great a Trust. And in this Epistle sent to him from *Nicopolis*, he minds him of that which he order'd him before, viz. that upon proof and tryal made of his Presbyters, he should promote them, and set them over Cities, (over every City one;) for (saith he) a Bishop must be blameless. So that according to this easie and fair Construction, there can be no pretence of any confusion of Names; because the Apostle doth not mean that *Titus* should take Deacons or Laymen into the Order of Presbyters, but that he should advance such as were Presbyters already into the superiour Order of Bishops; and having first consecrated and ordained them, to assign each of them his Diocese and City, that they might be invested with their Episcopal Authority and Jurisdiction too. And this seems to be that *κατασκευασμένη*, that Constitution or Promotion of Presbyters, which the Apostle requireth here.

Other places there are, where *St. Paul* speaketh of Bishops and Deacons only, without taking notice of an intermediate rank of Clergy; as *1 Tim. 3.* he gives instructions for the Ordination of Bishops and Deacons: And in *Phil. 1. 1.* he saluteth the Saints at *Philippi*, with the Bishops and Deacons. Whence the Adversaries of Episcopacy do conclude, that by Bishops there, Presbyters are intended; otherwise we must suppose them to be past over wholly, which is not to be conceived the Apostle would do. But by their good leave, I do assert, that where the Apostle mentioneth Bishops, he ever meaneth such as are truly and properly Bishops, not including Presbyters under that *Nation*. And for the clearing of the Objection, three things are observable.

1. First,

1. First, that when Churches began to be gathered, many times it happened that two Churches were in one and the same City; the one, consisting of believing Jews; the other, made up of converted Gentiles. Now over each of these Churches, there did preside a Bishop with his Deacons; so that frequently you shall find in Church-History two several Bishops in one City. Epiph. hares. 68.

2. Secondly, that these and the Neighbouring Bishops were wont to convene and meet together, to consult concerning the ordering and management of Ecclesiastical Matters.

3. And thirdly, that the necessities and condition of places were such in the beginning, that all Churches were not so compleatly and perfectly modelled at the first, as they were in process of time. For, as Churches were greater or less in proportion, so were Church-Officers more or fewer in number. Where the multitude of Christians was not great, there a Bishop and his Deacon were enough to discharge the work of the Ministry: where the numbers of Christians did increase, there Presbyters were appointed to assist the Bishop, and to act under him: and where an Apostle thought good not to fix any Bishop, but to hold the Government of a Church immediately in his own hands, there he did commonly appoint a College or Bench of Presbyters to perform Ministerial Offices, as his Proxies in his absence, and by his Authority derived and delegated unto them: For so did St. Paul keep the Superintendency over the Church of Corinth in his own hands, as their immediate and sole Bishop, because he had converted them to the Faith; and what the Presbyters did in excommunicating that incestuous person, they did it by St. Paul's Spirit; that is, by his Episcopal Authority and Power committed unto him by Christ: I verily as absent in Body, but present in Spirit (or by my Authority) have judged already concerning him, saith the Apostle. This Observation will give us to understand the meaning of Epiph. hares. 75.

- of that which we collect out of *Epiphanius*, that in one Church there were Bishops and Deacons only, (where the numbers of Converts were small) in another there were Presbyters without any Bishops, besides an Apostle (where there was need of many Ministers, and yet one could not be found that was so fit for the Bishoprick;) in others again there were Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons too (where the condition of the place did require it, and the worth and abilities of the Men did admit of it.) Now then to come to the Objection. St. Paul gives Timothy an account of the Qualifications necessary in Bishops; and this questionless was in order to their Ordination. But how doth it appear, that Presbyters are meant by the word Bishops?
- 1 Tim. 3. Were Presbyters now to be Ordained? Did the word of God grow and prevail so mightily in the *Ephesian Churches*, and yet no Presbyters in them? Was St. Paul among them for the space of three years, preaching, disputing, and converting so many Multitudes to the Faith, and yet ordained no Presbyters to water what he had so prosperously planted? And if Presbyters were ordained were settled in the Churches of *Ephesus* before the Apostles departure to *Macedonia*, what necessity was there for him to send his Son Timothy Instructions concerning the Ordination of Presbyters, especially when he hoped to return unto him shortly? Divines conceive that this Epistle was sent by him soon after he departed from *Ephesus*: and were all the Presbyters dead in that little time? 'Tis hardly to be believed, that Presbyters were wanting: but Bishops were. For hitherto St. Paul had been with the *Ephesians*, for the most part, in his own person, he had governed them in his own person, and had exercised his Episcopal Authority in his own person: But now he was gone, leaving Timothy in his room; he was the first Bishop that was fixt at *Ephesus*, and the only Bishop indeed now; and yet but a young Man, that had need of other Bishops to concur with him, and help him in his Office, and considering, that St. Paul was uncertain when he should see him again, there was an urgent necessity for him to write speedily to his Son, that other Bishops might be ordained, that other Churches might be guarded from the *Gnostic Seducers*, as well
- 1 Tim. 3. 15.

as *Ephesus* it self, the great Metropolis. There is no necessity then for us to conceive, that St. Paul in his Epistle to *Timothy* did mean Presbyters when he spake of Bishops; but rather that he gave directions for the Ordination of *those*, who were to be Bishops indeed, to be invested with Episcopal Power, and to preside over other Cities, as *Timothy* did over *Ephesus*, in St. Paul's own Chair.

Again; the Apostle saluteth the Saints at *Philippi*, with the Bishops and Deacons, *Phil. i. i.* But there is no Demonstrative Reason to constrain, nor probable Argument to induce us to believe, that he directed his salutation to Presbyters, much less, that he gave them the Title of Bishops. For, there are several fair accounts to be given of this matter: either (as some conceive) that there were two Bishops over two Churches in *Philippi* (Jewish, and Gentile Christians) as 'twas usual in other places: or (as others are of Opinion) that the Neighbouring Bishops were now assembled at *Philippi*, as 'twas usual at other times: or (as others are persuaded) that the Salutation is sent not to, but from the Bishops and Deacons; and so the words are to be read thus with a Parenthesis, Paul and Timotheus the Servants of Jesus Christ (to all the Saints in Christ Jesus, which are at *Philippi*) with the Bishops and Deacons; Grace be unto you, &c. But which way soever we interpret the Text, we are so far from finding any Presbyters in the Salutation, that there is no argument to prove, that they were at all in the City whither the Salutation was sent. For *Epiphanius* tells us, that many Churches at the first were ordered by Bishops and Deacons only: and then, why not the Churches of *Philippi* also.

Thus their whole Argument fails them, who would prove the Office and Order of Bishop and Presbyter to have been the same in the Apostles days, because forsooth the Name is given to both in Scripture. Though the Consequence would not be good, should their grand Principle be granted, yet there is no solid reason for us to grant the Principle it self. And therefore I shall not stick to conclude peremptorily, That the Order of Bishops, both as to name and thing, is so far from being either an Antichristian or an Ecclesiastical Ordinance, that it was
insti-

instituted by Christ himself, and founded in the Apostles of Christ, and by them so establish'd and continued in all the Churches of Christ, that for 1500 years together no Church in the world, being perfectly and rightly form'd, was ever under any other sort of Government: but that the Episcopal Office and Authority hath through a continual Succession of Ages been communicated, transmitted, and handed down to the whole Catholick Church, even from the most primitive and infant times of Christianity: and consequently, that this way of Government, still retained and defended in the Church of England, is undoubtedly the old and the good way.

The truth is, *Aerius* was the first man that ever durst affirm, that a Bishop is not above a Presbyter in Power, Order, and Authority: but he was counted a *mad man* for his pains, and was ranked by the Church in the black Catalogue of *Hereticks*, not onely for his *Separation* from the Catholick Bishops, nor onely for his condemning of *Catholick Customs*, nor onely for embracing the Heretical Sentiments of *Arius*, but also for affirming, that *Presbyters were of equal power and authority with Bishops*. And yet I much question, whether he spake his *free opinion*, or onely said so out of *envy and spite to Eustathius*. For *Aerius* would fain have been a Bishop himself, but *Eustathius* stood in his way; and for that reason he grew *sullen, dogged, and envious*: and such men commonly vend some *new opinion*, to be revenged for their *disappointments*; and so did he this: because he had not Merits enough to advance himself from a *Presbyter* to a *Bishop*, he had it seems *impudence* enough to *degrade a Bishop into a Presbyter*.

I will not make any untoward Reflections upon those *Disciples of Aerius*, who in these our days have greatly wounded Christianity by the same *groundless and singular, but confident Assertion*. Yet I think 'tis no uncharitableness to wish for the Peace and Interest of Christendom, that their *tallons* were well *pared*, who are not content to scratch and deface the *walls of the Church*, unless they undermine the very *pillars* of it too; those ancient and strong Pillars, upon which the Church hath rested, and by which Religion has been *upheld* even from the beginning.

2. Having said thus much touching the Antiquity of *our form of Government*, I proceed now to that, which is *another* most *material* part of our Establishments, that is, the *form of our Service-book*, or *Liturgy*. Concerning which I will be bold to affirm, and be bound to maintain against all parties whatsoever, that whosoever doth either *deprave*, or *dis-esteem* it, must of necessity be either a very *Ignorant*, or a very *naughty* person. Very *Ignorant* if he doth not see, that our Service is so correspondent to that of the *Ancient Churches*, that no Church in Christendom this day can shew a more lively Monument of Antiquity, than our Common-Prayer Book. But a very *naughty* person, if seeing and knowing this, he doth presume yet to condemn it; because he cannot in this respect condemn the Church of *England*, but he must likewise condemn all the Old Churches in the World; which, whether it be not an Argument of an *Unchristian* and *naughty* Spirit, I leave to all moderate men to Judge.

I am apt to hope, that those calumnies and reproaches which our Liturgy hath been laden with, have been occasioned by mens *Ignorance* of its excellencies. And therefore, to prevent those aspersions for the future (if it be possible) I shall endeavour to shew. First, the Antiquity of set forms of publick Prayer, in *general*. Secondly then, the Antiquity of our English Liturgy, in *particular*. And when these two things be made to appear, I hope the Church of *England* will be acquitted in *this respect*, as following the *Old way* of serving God.

1. Touching the Ancient use of set Forms of publick Prayer, in *general*, three things are proveable, for the satisfaction of all *Modest* and *Ingenuous* People. 1. That *set Forms* of Divine Service were used among the *Ancient Jews*. 2. That *set Forms* of Divine Service were used also among the *Primitive Christians*. 3. That after our blessed Lords Ascension, in that *interval* between the *Burial* of the Synagogue, and the *settling* of the Christian Church; set Forms of Divine Service were allowed also, even by the *Holy Apostles*. These three Heads I shall insist on, the more largely and particularly, because they may serve to inform and satisfy many (even *prejudiced*) persons, who have not searched into the bottom of things, but have contented

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themselves with many *superficial* (not to say, *groundless* and *impertinent*) Notions.

1. First then, it is manifest, that the *whole Body* of Divine Service among the Jews, did consist of several *Prescript and set Forms*.

At their Temple; though a great part of their Service was *Ceremonial* and *Typical*, consisting of divers kinds of *Sacrifices* and offerings, which in the fulness of time were to be done away; yet this was attended with *Moral* and *Spiritual* Services, consisting of *Praises* and *Prayers*, which were to continue for ever. For, the *Levites*, whose office it was to *stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at the Evening*, were wont to perform their parts, as with a world of solemnity, so also with Hymns and Songs, that were *composed* and *set* to their hands. Most of these were *Psalms* *en-dicted* by *David*; some were framed by *Asaph*, and other *Prophets*; and all were put together into a Book, out of which the *Levites* were appointed, in the Name of the Congregation, to worship and praise God in one of the outward Courts of the Temple, while the *Sacrifices* were offering by the Priest within. Hence it is, that we find many *Psalms* directed to the *chief Musitian*; for Tunes to be set unto them, that the Sons of *Jeduthun*, *Korah*, and other *Levites* in their courses might sing them in *Consort*, with *wind Instruments*, and *stringed Instruments* (of which there were divers kinds, as *Flutes*, *Cornets*, *Trumpets*, *Cymbals*, *Harp*s, *Psalteries*, &c.) according to the commandment of the Lord, by his *Prophets*, 2 Chron. 29. 25. And hence it is too, that we find some *Psalms* framed on purpose to be used on some *special occasion*; as particularly, the 92 *Psalms*, entituled, *a Song for the Sabbath day*; which was intended, questionless, to be sung solemnly on the Sabbath, in memory of Gods rest upon that day, and to give him thanks for his wonderful works of Creation and Providence. And, *Lastly*, hence it is, that the fifteen *Psalms* immediately following the Hundred and Ninetenth, are called *Psalms of Degrees*, or steps; because the *Levites* were wont to sing them upon the fifteen Stairs (upon each Stair, one) which were between the womens and the mens Court. Briefly; we find it said expresly of King *Hezekiah*, that he *commanded the Levites to sing praises un-*

1 Chron. 23.
30.

to the Lord with the words of David, and of Asaph the Seer. 2 Chron. 29. 30. So that it seemeth to be without question, that all Acts of Divine Worship done by the Levites, were performed in Prescript, and set forms. And let me add touching the People of Israel, that when they presented their first fruits at the Sanctuary, the offerer was to make an humble acknowledgement of Gods mercy to him, and to the whole Nation, in a set Form of words; Dent. 26. 5. *Thou shalt speak and say (these words) a Syrian ready to perish was my Father, and so on to the Tenth Verse inclusively.* And at the end of their Tithing, every man of them was to say (these words) before the Lord, *I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and so on from the 13. to the 15. verse of the same Chapter.* And to all this they were to add a set and a formal Prayer, *look down, (O Lord) from thy holy Habitation, from Heaven, and bless thy people Israel, and the Land which thou hast given us, as thou swarest unto our Fathers, vers. 15.* And then, lastly, as concerning the Sons of Aaron, the Priests, their Office was in Gods name to bless the Congregation, after the daily Service was finisht: and their custom was to go up together upon an eminent place for that purpose, and there all of them lifting up their hands (and the People bowing their heads) one of the Priests was to pronounce the Blessing; and he was tyed to a certain Form (which is still retained in our Liturgy;) *On this wise, ye shall bless the Children of Israel, saying, the Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee: the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* From all these instances it doth plainly appear, that the whole publick Service of God, in all its Parts, whether they did concern the People, or the Levites, or the Priests, was of Old transacted by them according to set and solemn Forms, at the Temple.

*Visitation of
the sick.*

It is well known, that besides the Temple at Jerusalem (which was the only place of Sacrifices) the Jews had (especially after the long Captivity) many Synagogues up and down in Cities at home and abroad, where they were dispersed: and we are told that in Jerusalem it self there were no less, than an hundred and eighty Synagogues. The exact time is not known, when they were first Erected; but that the Moral and standing

Mr. Thorne-
dike, Rel. As-
semb. p. 227.

In Loc.
Buxt.
in 117.
Rel. Assemb.
p. 56.

De Missa lib.
1. c. 3.

In Levit. 16.
21.

View of the
direct.

Service of God was ministred in those Synagogues, is altogether out of Question; and some are of opinion, that this Moral Service was *answerable* to that which was (but with more solemnity) celebrated at the *Temple*. However, that this Service was performed by *Book*, is evident and plain. For in every Synagogue there was an Officer, part of whose business it was, to *read* the Service. This was that *Minister* spoken of, in *Luke* 4. 20. One, who was inferior to the Rulers and Elders of the Synagogue, and correspondent to a *Deacon* in the *Christian Church*, as the Learned *Grotius* tells us. And *Buxtorf* affirms, that *Precibus & cantu Ecclesiae praebat*, he went before the Congregation in Praying and Singing. And the Learned Author before mentioned tells us out of *Maimonides*, that *when he stood up to Prayer, he had his back to the people, and his face towards the Elders, and the Sanctuary*; and thence he rationally collecteth, that he prayed according to a *prescript Form*; because it is not to be supposed, that an *Inferiour Officer* in the Synagogue should *direct* the Prayers of his *betters*, but upon this ground, because the Prayers had been *composed afore* by fit and competent persons, and so might be Ministred by their *Inferiours*, the *Deacons* of the Synagogues. Besides; the Noble and Learned French Protestant; *Du Plessis*, hath given us this account of the ordinary Synagogue Service; that it began with that *general Confession* of Sins, which was used at the Temple over the Sacrifices, the Form whereof is fetcht by him out of *P. Fagius* and by *Mr. Ainsworth* out of *Maimonides*, O Lord, thy people the house of Israel, have sinned, and done iniquity, and trespassed before thee; O Lord, make Attonement now for the sins, and for the iniquities, and for the trespasses, that thy people the house of Israel have sinned, and unrighteously done, and trespassed before thee, as it is written in the Law of Moses thy Servant. Then followeth the singing of several whole *Psalms* composed by *David*, and other Prophets; together with set Prayers of Thanksgiving (I conceive, he meaneth, those eighteen Benedictions, which we find frequently mentioned, and which the Jews say, *Ezra* composed after the return from *Babylon*;) and if I mistake not *Dr. Hammonds* sense, where he Citeth *Seldens* Notes upon *Eutychius*, these Prayers were begun with *Psal.* 51. 15. O Lord, open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew

shew forth thy praise, (the very form of words retained in S. James Liturgy, and in ours before the Introite,) and concluded with, Psal. 31. 6. *Into thy hands I commend my Spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, the God of Truth.* After this, followed the Reading of the Law and the Prophets, which was not Arbitrary, left to the Readers pleasure what parts of Scripture to make choice of; but certain *Lessons* were appointed for the day, and the Law was divided into fifty four Sections, and the Prophets into as many portions; for every week a portion; so that the Office was prescribed for the whole year. Moreover, the Scriptures being read at large, they went to their Prayers again, for the Church, and for the Common-wealth, for publick blessings, and for particular private Mercies; and so the Ruler of the Synagogue dismissed the Assembly, with the usual and solemn Benediction.

I cannot imagine what more is needful to shew, that the publick Service of God, among the Jews was ordered into *certain and set Forms*, both at the Temple, and in their Synagogues; that is, that they had their Liturgy and Common-Service Book, as the Christian Church had in after Ages, and as the Church of England hath still. Only I shall add *Ex abundanti*, that even their more *private Devotions* were *Prescript and Formal* also. And I instance in the solemnity of the *Passover*, which was kept in their Private houses; they had *set Forms of words*, whereby they declared the meaning of the Mystery, and of the institution of the Lamb, the bitter Herbs, and the unleavened Bread; and this Declaration was called, a *shewing forth* of the Passover; to which the Apostle alludeth, when he saith of the Lords Supper, that it is a *shewing forth of the Lords death*, 1 Cor. 11. 26. They had set Forms of words for the *Consecration* of the Bread and the Wine: over the Bread they said, *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which bringest forth Bread out of the Earth*; and over the Cup they said likewise, *Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, which Createst the fruit of the Vine*. Lastly; the whole action was concluded with singing of Psalms, beginning at the hundred and thirteenth, and so on to the end of the hundred and eighteenth; which six Psalms were called by them, the *great Hallelujahs*.

And

And I question not, but as our Saviour used the usual or the like Form, when he blessed the Bread and Wine ; so also that they used that great *Hallelujah*, when the Evangelist tells us, that He and his Disciples sang an Hymn, and went out into the Mount of Olives, Matth. 26. 30.

2. Having thus cleared the first thing, that set Forms of Divine Service were in use among the Ancient Jews, I proceed to make good the second Position ; viz. that such Forms were likewise used by the Primitive Christians. Here no man of learning can deny, 1. That Precript Forms of worship have been established in the Christian world for above these 1200 years last past. For 'tis now 1312 yeares since the Council at *Laodicea* ;

Can. 18.

And *Disciples*.

Can. 15.

Aristen. in

Epit canonis.

Can. 23.

Balsam in

Can. 18.

Concil.

Laodic.

and that the same Prayers should serve for Noon, and for Evening-service, *ὡς ἐν πᾶσι ἀνὰ τὰς σινδύσεις* saith Balsamon, and for every Synaxis, or Assembly ; nor should any Prayers be read, but what were received and established, having been delivered unto them by their fore-fathers. Like unto this was that Canon of the Council at Carthage, which was 1284 years ago, that if any man did compose any Prayers, he should not presume to use them, till he had consulted the most knowing men in the Church.

The intent of which Decree was, that none should have the liberty to use what forms of Prayer he pleased, but that such onely should be said, as had been ratified by due Authority, and ancient custom. Lastly tis 1277 years since the Council at Milevis ; and then it was provided, that no manner of Prayers should be used in the Church, but what had been approved of by a Synod, and I cannot but observe the reason of this Canon, *ne forte aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum* (saith those wise Fathers) lest new Prayers should containethat which was contrary to the true Faith, either through the Ignorance, or through the carelesness of the Composer. It was one great Reason (among many others) why Publick Liturgies were compiled of old, that they might be Repositories of sound Doctrine, and Preservatives of the Catholick Faith, and the Ancients were wont to dispute against Heriticks, not only out of Scripture, but out of the Churches Service-books too. For these were Antidotes, to

keep

Can. 12.

keep Christians from being poisoned with Erroneous and rotten Principles, as our *English* Liturgy is at this day an Excellent amulet against infection from *Papists*, *Socinians*, *Pelagians* and other modern seducers: and perhaps this is the grand reason, why, the Bell-weather of Faction hate our Common-Prayer Book, because it stinteth their extravagant Spirits, who can sow Heresie and Sedition by their Praying, as well Preachments: this I am certain of, that many gross errors which now prevail (especially in the Church of *Rome*) have been greatly occasioned by the base Arts of men, who have time after time altered and corrupted the Ancient *Service-Books*, thereby insensibly insinuating into mens breasts such things as belong not to Christianity. But I will not digress further. To return to our purpose; it cannot be denyed, secondly, that in the dayes of *St. Basil*, and *St. Chrysostom*, which was about 380 years after our Lords birth, *Liturgies* were generally used in the Churches of Christ, for at this hour there are *Liturgies* extant under the Names of those Great men; and though we do not think, that these are the very same, which they used, because latter ages have defaced them and foisted many Heterogeneous things into them, yet 'tis ridiculous to imagine, that *St. Basil*, and *St. Chrysostom* did not compile any, or that nothing of these was of their composing. And yet what they did in this business was not a New thing; they were not the first dividers of these Forms: no, they framed their *Liturgies* out of old Materials, and did fit and suit them to their own times. For it cannot be denyed, thirdly, that *Liturgies* were used, before ever these men were born. For the Ancients did conceive, that *St. James* the first Bishop of *Jerusalem* and *S. Mark* the Evangelist, did both of them frame *Liturgies* for the use of their respective Churches, and though I dare not say, that this conceit is undoubtedly true; (much less, that the *Liturgies*, which are now called by their Names, and as we have them, were composed by them;) yet this I will affirm, that in the early days of Christianity set Forms of Divine Service were used in the Churches of *Jerusalem* and *Alexandria*. Nay, if we consider well of that Form of Service in the *Constitutions* of *Clement* (which questionless is a most ancient

cient one) and then compare those Liturgies we find in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* called, S. Peters for Rome; S. Thomas's for the Indians, S. Mattheu's for the *Æthiopians*, and the *Mosarabe* for the Spaniards, though we confess, that these as well as others have suffered many alterations, yet in all of them we may see such plain foot-steps of prime Antiquity, that we may rationally conclude, Liturgies were used in the very next ages to the Apostles, over all parts of Christendom.

I know, this will be looked upon as a very high and bold assertion; and therefore I am bound to be the more punctual in this matter; and for proof thereof I shall appeal to such Testimonies as are *Authentick*, and which being compared with the Liturgies before-mentioned, will satisfy any indifferent man, that such and such Forms were used by Christians in the first Ages; and so, that in all probability they were directed by the Apostles, or Apostolical Persons. S. Cyprian speaks of *solemn offices*; which cannot otherwise be understood, then of *customary Forms* of Prayer; especially considering that he elsewhere mentions a *Preface* (used even then, and still retained by us) before the Communion, the Priest saying, *sursum corda*, lift up your hearts, and the People answering, *Habemus ad Dominum*, we lift them up unto the Lord. When Demetrian the Proconsul of Africk charged all the Wars, Famines, Plagues, and Droughts upon the Christians, S. Cyprian then Bishop of Charthage answered him to this purpose; we pour out our Prayers and Supplications for deliverance from enemies, for rains, and for the removal or the abatement of all evils, and day and night we pray continually and earnestly, for your Peace and safety. Now, what should he mean by these continual and constant Prayers? Why, no doubt, those charitable Forms which they used in the ordinary course of their morning and evening-service. For such we find in all the old Liturgies; and particularly, in that ascribed to S. Mark (which Cyprian perhaps might refer to) there is a *Collect*, after the Reading of the Gospel, where the Minister saith, Be pleased, O Lord, to send wholesome showers upon every thirsty Land; of thy Mercy give us fountains of waters; increase and bless the fruits of the earth; preserve the Kingdom of thy Servant, whom thou hast thought fit to set over us, in peace, righteousness

Solemnitus
adimpletis
Cypr. de lapsis.
De Orat. Dom.

Ad Dem.

righteousness, and tranquility, and deliver this City from evil days, from famine, from pestilence, and from invasion. Compare this Prayer with S. Cyprians words, and then judge if he did not point to this, or to some other Form to the same purpose, and of the same strain. Again; whereas Celsus the Pagan slandered the Christians, as men given to Magical Arts and Sorceries, Origen (who was but one remove from the times of the Apostles) affirms positively and upon certain experience, that they who worship the Lord of the Universe by Jesus Christ, and live according to the Gospel, using night and day, constantly and rightly, *παραχρησταις εὐχαῖς* the Prayers which were Appointed, cannot come under the power of Devils. There is little Reason to doubt, but that by these Prayers he means the Nocturnal and Diurnal Offices, which were then prescribed and ordered by the Church; and less Reason there is to fancy, that such were not used in his time: and for confirmation of this, it is observable, that Origen himself else where quotes a customary Form then in use, We frequently say in our Prayers, Grant us, O Almighty God, grant us a Portion with the Prophets, grant us a place among the Apostles of thy Christ, grant that we may be found followers of thine only begotten. Questionless this was an usual Form in the Alexandrian Liturgy; and though we do not now find it in so many express words in the Liturgy ascribed to S. Mark, yet we find in it a form to the same purpose, grant us, O Lord, to have our Portion and inheritance with all thy Saints. And in the Æthiopick Liturgy, it is twice, Be propitious unto us, O Lord, and vouchsafe to make us joint-Possessors and partakers of the inheritance of the Apostles, and cause us to follow their steps. And again; Lord write our names in the Kingdom of Heaven, and joyn us with all thy Saints and Martyrs. Furthermore; Tertullian (another African writer, and somewhat Elder then Origen) speaking of the Divine-service in his time (which he calls, *Dominica Solennia*) reckons up four parts of it; the Reading of Scripture the Singing of Psalms, Allocutions, and Petitions, This place being thoroughly understood, is very pregnant and full to our purpose. 1. Here we have the reading of the Scriptures, which in those early and pious times was perform'd, not with that conciseness and brevity,

Orig. adv. Cels. lib. 6.

Orig. Hom. 11. in Jerem.

Lit. S. Marci. in Anaphorâ

nam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi cantantur, aut Allocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delectantur &c.

Tert, de Anima. c. 3.

Lit. S. Jacob. which was usual in after-ages; but 'twas *Lectio fufiffima*; and large portions were read both out of the old, and the new Testament. 2. They Sung *whole* Psalms; not only those composed by *David* and other Prophets among the *Jews*, but, as we shall see hereafter, several Hymns and Songs of Praise, which had been framed in the beginning by Faithful *Christians*, and more immediately relating to the *Christian Religion*. 3. But then a doubt may be moved, what *Tertullian* means by those *Allocutions*, which were made to the people, and uttered at large (for that I conceive to be his sence.) And the difficulty may be easily assailed, if we call to mind, that in the Primitive times it was a general custome for the Deacon that read the service to *direct the people* in their devotion, to tell them what they should pray for, and to stir them up to beg such and such things of God, calling upon them after this manner, *Let us pray, let us pray earnestly*, *ἑτι καὶ ἑτι δευόμενοι*, *let us pray on yet, further*, and with an intense Zeal; and other such Forms there were which he frequently used, and then *dictated* to them the matter of their devotion, to which all the people gave their *Suffrages* readily and with much fervency of Spirit, *Litany-wise*. Now these Forms of exhortation were called by the Greeks *προσευχῆς*, which the Latines rendred, *Allocutions*: We call it, *Bidding of Prayers*. And though the custome be for certain Reasons grown much out of use among us, yet there are many plain footsteps of it to be seen in our *Liturgy*, especially in our *Litany*, and *Communion-service* (in which offices it was most used of old;) for the Minister is often ordered to say, *Let us pray, let us pray*. And as to the custome it self, it is so *Ancient*, that I cannot find the *beginning* of it; and 'twas so *universal*, that 'twas observed in *all* the *Primitive Churches*; for in all the *Liturgies* which I have yet seen (either of the *Eastern*, or *Western*, or *African Churches*) such *Allocutory* Expressions are still extant, more or less. Sometimes the Minister used *short and concise* Forms, saying, *Let us Pray, let us behave our selves reverently, Lift up your hearts, let us give thanks unto the Lord*; and to these, the Congregation gave their customary *Answers*. Sometimes these *Allocutions* were *more large*; as, for instance in that Prayer for Persons who intended to be Baptized (to which several others did correspond) the

Clem. Const.

the Minister said on this wise, (as we find in an *African Liturgy*.)

Let us that are Believers pray for our brethren who prepare themselves for holy Illumination (or Baptism,) and for their salvation let us beseech the Lord;

And the People answered, *Lord have mercy.*

That our Lord God may please to confirm and strengthen them, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

That he may please to illuminate them with the light of knowledge and godliness, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

That he may please in due time to vouchsafe them the Laver of Regeneration, and forgiveness of their sins, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

That he may please to regenerate them with water, and the Holy Ghost, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

That he may please to give them a perfection of Faith, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

That he may please to gather them into the holy Fold of his Elect, let us beseech the Lord;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

O Lord, save, pity, help and keep them by thy good Grace;

Ans. Lord, have mercy.

These, and such Forms as these, were undoubtedly used by the Churches of Christ in the first Ages of Christianity. And these were the *προσφωνήσεις* or *Allocutions*, which *Tertullian* speaks of as used in his time: and anon I shall make it probably appear, that they were used before his time too. 4. In the mean time it is observable, that in the place before-cited, he makes mention of *Petitions* also used in the Publick Assemblies of Christians. By which I understand, certain entire Prayers, called *συνάψαις*, or *Collects*, when the requests of the Church were cast into one Body of Prayer, offered up by the Minister; to which the People answered, *Amen*. In the use of these he was the mouth of the whole Congregation; and therefore *Tertullian* calls them very elegantly, *Petitiones delegatas*, *Petitions* that were left

Apol. c. 30.

Tertul.
Apol. c. 30.

to the Minister to offer up in the Name of the rest, as the *Delegate*, and *Assigne* of the whole Congregation: so that, whereas they did bear a great part in other Prayers, these were repeated entirely by him that did officiate. Many such Forms we meet with in all the ancient Liturgies, and people were wont to get several of them by heart, and to use them in their private Devotion. And so Tertullian tells us in another place, that they all prayed for all Emperours, that they might have a long life, a safe Empire, puissant Armies, faithful Councils, good Subjects, and a quiet World. I do not doubt, but this Ancient Writer had an eye to some Form of Prayer which was then to that purpose, and in which all Christians did joyn. And such a kind of Collect is still extant in S. Mark's Liturgy, where the Minister exhorts the People to pray for the King; and the People having answered, Lord, have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy; the Minister proceedeth thus; O Lord of Lords, thou God Almighty, and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we pray and beseech thee, to keep our King in Peace, fortitude, and righteousness. Subdue, O God, all his foes and enemies. Lay hold of the Shield and Buckler, and stand up to help him. O God, make him victorious, that he may apply his mind to those things which tend to our Peace, and to the honour of thy holy name; that under him we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, through the merits of thine onely begotten Son. Amen. Such Collects as this the Primitive Christians borrowed of the Church, and repeated them by heart even in their retirements. And this I take to be the meaning of that passage in Tertullian, which hath made such a noise; where he saith, we pray (for our Governours) *sine Monitore, quia de Pectore*, without a Monitor or Prompter, for we pray by heart. By a Monitor here very probably he means the Deacon or Minister, that was wont in their publick Assemblies to stir them up to pray for the cheif Ruler, and to call upon them in those Allocutory Forms before-mentioned. And Tertullian tells the Heathens, that he and his fellow-Christians did this *sine Minitore*, when no Minister was present to prompt them to it; they had certain Prayers to this purpose which they used by heart in private; so that they ought not to be looked upon as men that flattered their Prince, *mentiti vota ad evadendam scilicet vim*, pretending to pray for him, that they might

Apol. c. 31.

might not be persecuted; but this they did heartily and conscientiously, in their private as well as publick Devotions, at home of themselves, as well as in the face of the World by the directions of their Minister. This is an *easy* and *fair* construction of the words; and by the whole *strain* and *tenour* of Tertullians discourse, it seems to be out of Question (what I am now proving) that *set Forms* of Divine Worship were observed in his days.

But we have one *very Ancient* Writer more to appeal to, who will give us much more light into this matter still: 'tis *Justine Martyr*, who lived about thirty years after the death of the Apostle St. *John*: and as his Writings are unquestionably *Authentick*, so the Age he liv'd in was *so pure*, that what customs prevailed in Christian Churches *then*, must needs make a great impression upon all indifferent persons *now*: and for that reason I shall consider what he tells us, the more particularly and largely. In his second *Apology* for the Christians, he gives the Heathens a *plain account* of the usages, which were then generally observed in the Churches of Christ. Concerning persons which were to be Baptised (commonly called, the *Catechumini*) he saith, that they were taught to pray, and with fastings to beg of God remission of their sins; and that believers did pray with them, and fast with them at their publick Assemblies. Then that as many as did believe and were perswaded of the truth of those things which were preached and delivered unto them, and did promise and undertake to lead their lives accordingly, were had to the place where the water stood, (which by the way, was at the West end, and entrance of the Church) and there were Regenerate, being Baptiz'd in the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Afterwards he tells us, that the persons thus believing, thus professing, and thus washed, were had again to the Congregation of the faithful, and that this Congregation did make Common prayers, for themselves, and for the Baptiz'd Parties, and for all men in all places, with much earnestness and zeal. Further he saith, that the day when these things were performed, was the Sunday; and that on that day Christians that dwelt in City and Country did meet together; that the writings of the Prophets and Apostles were read unto them; that, when the Reader had done, the chief Minister made a Sermon; and that being ended, then all did unanimously rise up, and offered up prayers (i.e. the Prayers fore-mentioned) for themselves, for all estates

ἰσχυρῶς
ὁμοίως
παύσηται.

estates and conditions of men in the World.) Then that these prayers being ended, they saluted one another with an holy kiss, and offered Bread and Wine, &c. which the President or cheif Minister having received at their hands, went to the like prayers again; and gave praise and glory to the Father of the Universe for his mercies, and offered up thanksgivings in a Copious and Large manner, and with all his might (meaning with all possible Zeal, Ardour, and Feruency of Spirit:) and these prayers and thanksgivings being concluded, the people jointly cryed out, Amen. Then followed the distribution of the Elements, which (saith he) was no longer common Bread or common Drink, &c.

Now I confess, in all this History of things *Justine Martyr* doth not tell us in expresse words, that they used prescript and set Forms of Prayer (for that was beside his purpose.) But yet it shall appear, that they *did*. For by the whole procedure of the Relation it is clear, that they observed a certain constant method in their Ministrations; and if we compare the particulars he gives us in, with the particulars we find in other very Ancient Records, we shall see, that *Justine Martyr* gives us a summary, but a pretty fully account, of several prescript Forms, which were universally used of Old, as will evidently appear by taking a view of the particulars.

1. He says, the *Catechumeni* were taught to pray, the Cogregation of Believers praying with them. And what can we understand by this teaching to pray, but those προσφώνησις or Allocutory Forms, before-mentioned, when the Deacons did put words into their mouths, and dictated matter to them, calling upon them with a loud voice, ἑξῆς οἱ κατηχούμενοι, Pray, ye *Catechumeni*. Such Forms we find in all the old Liturgies generally. One I have transcribed already; and I shall produce another out of *Clements Constitutions*, because that Book (though it hath undergone many alterations, yet) certainly contains the sense and substance of the Churches service in the first Ages. There then the Deacon is directed to say, Pray ye *Catechumeni*.— And let us all pray to God for them, that the good God would hear their prayers.— That he may grant them the desires of their hearts, as may be most expedient for them.— That he may reveal his Gospel to them, and enlighten them, and make them wise unto salvation.— that he may instruct

struct them in the knowledge of his will, and teach them his Commandments and Judgements.— That he may plant in them his holy and saving Fear.— That he may open their hearts to meditate on his Law day and night.— That he may confirm them in godliness, and number them among the sheep of his Fold.— That he may vouchsafe them the Laver of Regeneration, and the Robe of Immortality, which is life indeed.— That he may deliver them from all wickedness, and from the wicked one, that he may not approach to hurt them.— That he may cleanse them from all filthiness of Flesh and Spirit, and may dwell in their hearts.— That he may bless their goings out and their comings in, and direct them in the ways of peace.— Furthermore, let us earnestly pray on their behalf, that having obtained forgiveness of their sins by Baptism, they may be partakers of the holy Mysteries, and be endued with the perseverance of Saints. To all and every of which particulars the people were directed to give their suffrage and consent, saying, *Lord, have mercy.* Now this is that which *Justin* means by the Praying of Believers for and with the Catechumeni, and by the teaching of them to pray, viz. the propounding of things to them to pray for, and to joyn with the rest in; as *Constantine* *Euseb. de vit.* the Emperour was called, *λόγων ευκτηνέων διδάσκαλος*, a Teacher of Constant, lib. supplicatory words, when he gave his Souldiers Forms of Prayer 4. c. 19. to use.

2. The next thing we are to note from this Holy Martyrs account, is, that these Catechumeni did make Profession of their Faith, and of their resolutions to live according to their Profession. Now this was done in a certain Form too. First the party was to say, *I renounce the Devil, together with all the Works, Pomps, Services, Angels, and inventions of Satan.* Then being * demanded, whether he did believe on the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, he answered, *I believe, and am baptized into one Eternal and True God, Almighty, the Father of Christ, the Creator and Maker of all things: and into one Lord Jesus, &c.* repeating the rest of the Articles of the Christian Creed. So that all this was according to Form.

3. A third thing observable out of this most Primitive Author, is, that the Baptized persons being brought from the water to the

Clem. Const. lib. 7. c. 42.

Et in Tertull. Aquam adituri, contestamur nos renunciare diabolo, & pompæ, & Angelis ejus, de Cor. Mil.

* Ἡρωτάτο ἑκαστὸν εἰ πιστεύει εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

Cyrl. Catech. 2.

Clem. Const. lib. 7. c. 42.

Εὐχαριστοῦντες οἱ
καταζόμενοι
οἱ ἐπεσγόμενοι
οἱ ἐν τῇ μετάνοιᾳ.

the Congregation, and Sermon ended, all went jointly to prayers, for themselves, for their new Members, and for all men every where. Now questionless this account hath a reference to certain prescriptions then, because it doth so admirably, and exactly agree with that course of Offices, which we find in the old Liturgies, and particularly in the book of Constitutions; where we have (after Sermon) one particular Form of Prayer for the Baptized; another, for those who were possessed with evil Spirits; another, for such as did Penance at the Church doors. And then they proceeded to a more general and comprehensive Prayer, for the peace of the World — for the holy, Catholick, and Apostolick Church — for that particular Diocese — for all Bishops under Heaven — for their Bishops, N. N. — for their Presbyters and Deacons — for the Readers, Singers, Virgins, Widows, and Orphans — for married persons, and women labouring of child — for all holy, chaste and continent persons — for their most pious and bountiful Benefactors — for their new Baptized brethren — for such as were sick and weak — for Travellers by Sea and Land — for all that were in Mines, in Banishment, in Imprisonment, and Bonds — for all that groan'd through slavery — for their Enemies and Persecuters — for unbelievers, and deceived people — for christian Infants — for one another — and for every christian Soul. I cannot but admire the exuberant and unlimited Charity of these excellent Christians: and by this we may easily see, what Justine means by κοινὰς εὐχάς, the Common-Prayers, viz. Such as were made for all estates and conditions of men, and offered up by the whole Congregation. For to every of these particulars pronounced by the Deacon, the people did subjoin their usual suffrage, εὐχόμενοι, with a peircing zeal, and shrill accents of devotion, saying, Lord, have mercy.

ἐκ τῶν
Const. Ap.
lib. 8.

4. These things being thus dispatcht, the holy kiss followed, according to Justine; and so it did, according to S. Cyril, and the Author of the Constitutions; which several accounts jumping together so fairly, we may reasonably conclude, that the holy Martyr doth refer to that Form which the Deacon used at this time, crying out, embrace one another, and salute one another with an holy kiss; meaning, that men should salute men, and women, women, in token of perfect Love, amity and friendship.

5. After this the Offertory succeeded (agreeable also to what

we find in *other* the most Ancient Records) Bread and Wine, &c. being presented by the people to the Deacons, and by them to the Bishop (or him that did officiate in chief) and by him laid upon the Lords Table: part of which offerings was sequestred to be the Elements of the Sacrament, and the residue was reserved for the use of the Minister, and the poor.

6. Then the President of the Congregation proceeded to the prayer of Consecration. Wherein it is very observable out of *Justine Martyr*, that the Minister gave praise and glory to God, that he gave thanks, that he fell to the like prayers (*εὐχαὶ ὁμοίας ἀντιμύμναι*, prayers, like, in substance, to those which had been offered before) and that all this he did *ἐν πολλῷ*, in a large manner. Now throughout this particular account he doth manifestly point to a certain Form then in use; and thence we confidently conclude, that Forms of prayers were prescribed in *Justine Martyr's* days. For we meet with this large Form in the book of Constitutions, and in *other* Ancient Liturgies; and on this wise it runs, by the consent of Antiquity. First, the Minister mentioneth the infinite perfections and Majesty of God; It is very meet and right that we should praise thee the very true God, who art before all, of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is named, the only Being, without production, without beginning — and so on he goes rehearsing the Divine Attributes (which I conceive is the *αἰνέσις* or praise, which *Justine* speaks of.) Then he largely mentioneth Gods Creating the World, and all things in it, his goodness to the first Man both before and after his fall — his providence towards the Sons of Adam before and under the Law — his particular favour to the seed of Abraham, their redemption from Egypt, &c. for all which mercies, *δοξα σοι δέπτοτα παντοκράτορ*, Glory be unto thee O Lord Almighty, (there is the *δοξα* mentioned by *Justine*.) After this he proceeds to the *εὐχαριστία*, blessing God for the wonderful work of the World's Redemption by Christ, for his Conception, Incarnation, Birth, Life, Doctrine, Miracles, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension into Glory; *μεμνημένοι ἐν ᾧν δι' ἡμᾶς υπέμεινεν, εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι δεὲ παντοκράτορ*, we give thanks to thee O Almighty God, not as we ought, but as we can; and we fulfil thy Commandment; for in the same night that he was betrayed, he took Bread,

μνημονωόμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ καὶ τοῦ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης: ἡμεῖς καὶ σελήνης, ἀστροῦ καὶ πάντων κτισμάτων λογικῶν καὶ ἀλογικῶν, &c. Cypri. Catech. c.

ἔσθι δυνάμεις, ὅσον δυνάμειδα.
Justine.

Τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀναπέμψαι
ἐπὶ τὰ προσέκρυα. Cyril, ubi su-
pra.

&c. where the Minister repeates at large the Hi-
story and words of the Institution of the Sacra-
ment, beseeching God to send down the Holy Ghost
upon the offerings; and so at last, at the close of
this long prayer of Consecration, he proceeds
to pray, as the Deacon did before, for the *holy*

Catholick Church, and for all its Members; at the end whereof
the Congregation answered, *Amen*. So it was in the book of
Constitutions; and so *Justine* affirms, that the President did
εὐχὰς ὁμοίως ἀναπέμπειν, send up prayers again in a *like manner* (the
same after a sort with what had been sent up before) and so that
Ancient Writer *S. Cyril* tells us, that after Consecration they did
pray for the general peace of the Church, for the quiet of the World,
for Kings, &c. In a word, all the Old Liturgies gives us a plain,
full, and concurrent account of this matter: and whosoever shall
seriously weigh, and impartially consider the *joynt suffrage and*
agreement of Antiquity as to this matter, he must either betray
his weakness, or filthily belie his own Judgement, if he doth
not conclude, that *prescribed and set Forms* of Divine Service
were in use *universally* in *Justine Martyrs* time: nay, that *Justine*
doth manifestly point to that *Form* in *S. James Liturgies*, or *Cle-*
ments Constitutions, such a clear agreement and correspondence there
is between the account we find in *him*, and in those other Re-
cords.

3. This thing then being cleared, that there were *prescript Forms*
of Divine Service in the *Primitive times* of *Christianity*, and even
in that Age, which was the very *next* to the Apostles, I proceed
to shew the *third* thing, viz. that in the Holy Apostles time, and
in that interval between the burial of the Synagogue, and the set-
ting of the Christian Church, *set Forms* of Divine Service were
allowed also. For confirmation whereof I think no Considerate
man will deny, that the Apostles and their Disciples conformed
to the innocent Rites and Customes among the Jews, and joyned
with them in the ordinary moral service of God, which was ap-
pointed to be used daily. 1. For, first, *S. Luke* tells us, *Luk. 24.*

ἐν ἀπίστων

αὐτῶν οἱ

ἀπόστολοι

τίως ὥς μὴ

βλάψαι.

S. Chrys. in

Act. 2. 46.

53. that after our Lords Ascension, they were continually in the
Temple, praising and blessing God. Though they had frequent,
peculiar cætus or Assemblies of their own, yet they never with-
drew

drew themselves from the solemn Congregation of the Jews, that they might not scandalize any : but they continued daily in the Temple with one accord, Act. 2. 46. That was the place whither they constantly resorted to Morning and Evening service. For that being *Moral*, it was utterly repugnant to the designe of Christianity to have destroyed it. Some other offices indeed (such as the Celebration of the Lords Supper) as being proper to their Profession, were to be Super-added to the ordinary service : and for that purpose their custome was to adjourn from the Temple to the *Canaculum Sion*, or that upper room, mentioned, Act. 1. 13. The House was hard by the Temple, if not part of it ; and there they brake bread, in that House ; not (as we render it) House by House, but in the House ; because they were not permitted to celebrate this Mystery in the Temple ; but yet the Temple was the place of their ordinary Devotion ; and there the service was by prescript Form. In like manner we read of Peter and John, that they went up together into the Temple, at the hour of Prayer, being the ninth hour, Act. 3. 1. And from the whole History of the Apostles Acts it appears, that S. Paul, and others were wont ever to resort to the Synagogues at the usual days and hours : and as it is improbable, that they would have been so punctual as to the time and place, of publick service, had they not Conformed to the service it self ; so it is incredible, that they should have found such easie access, had not the Elders of the Jews lookt upon them as men of the same piece with themselves, saving only in those points touching the Messiah's coming and the Necessity of such Ceremonies as were Typical, or shadows of better things. 2. Again, it is clear that the Apostles were very careful, as far as it was consistent with their duty, to give no offence unto the unbelieving Jews, but by all possible ways of compliance to gain them over unto Christianity : in so much that St. Paul (who was one of the most stickling Apostles) profess before Festus Act. 25. 8. that neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the Temple, had he offended any thing at all. He declared before Felix, Act. 24. 12, that they never found him in the Temple disputing with any Man, neither raising up the people, neither in the Synagogues, nor in the City. And he told the Jews at Rome, Act. 28. 17. that he had committed nothing a-

See Dr Hammond in loc. and Mr. Medes Disc. on 1 Cor. 11. 22.

Act. 16. 3.

Vid. Bezam.
in loc.

gainst the people or customes of their Fathers. In a word ; he allowed the Jews the use of Circumcision (thought it was needless) and he circumcised Timothy with his own Hands (though it seemed *extra-regular* ;)and in every particular they all went as far as the Laws of Christianity would give leave, that they might not exasperate any. Now is it imaginable, that men who were so willing to *abate* of their Liberty, and to comply with the Jews even in things that were Ceremonial and Transitory, should hold off in things that were their Duty, and oppose that service of God which was substantial and permanent, I mean the received Prayers, Praises and Thanksgivings? 3. But that which fully clears this matter is, that even the converted Jews were extremely shy of letting go any of their Rituals, though they had been better informed of the *Designe* and *Nature* of Christianity, then others were, we find Act. 21. 20, 21. that there were many Myriads of Jews which believed, and they were all zealous of the Law : and when they had but an incling, that S. Paul taught the Proselytes abroad to forsake Moses and not to walk after the Rites and customes of their Fathers, they were so moved at it, that the Bretheren at Jerusalem were fain to advise him to purifie himself, and to satisfy them that he walked orderly. And since they did so pertinaciously insist upon Punctilio's, can we conceive, that they would not insist rather upon weighty matters? would they suffer the whole frame of their Religion to be altered, when they would not endure any part of it to be changed, or omitted? Certainly, had the Apostles gone about to take away their Sacrifices and their Service-book too, and to destroy their Legal and Moral observances both, it would have been concluded, that their design was to make havock of all Religion, and to turn the World upside down ; and such a Rupture would have been made hereby, that Men would have crowded out of the Church with greater zeal, than ever they went into it. And therefore it is unquestionably clear, that the Apostles and their Disciples did at their publick and common Assemblies carefully keep to that way of worship, which was then established, which (as hath been proved) was Prescript, and according to Form.

2. The great Question is, what their way of worship was in their

their *peculiar*, and more *private* Assemblies, when they met together to perform such *proper* Exercises of Christianity, as they were not *permitted* to perform either in the *Temple*, or at the *Synagogue*? That these Services were transacted *without* premeditation and Form, is strongly believed and confidently asserted by some. And it must be acknowledged, that their *occasional* Prayers were uttered after that manner, such as that Prayer mentioned, *Act. 4.* And should it be granted, that their *whole* Devotion was of *sudden* conception *then*, it would be no prejudice to the use of *Set Forms now*, because the Apostles were *immediately* inspired; whereas those miraculous afflations of the Holy Ghost are *ceased* long ago; and the Question is, not whether unpremeditated Prayers are simply *unlawful*, but whether they are so *fit* and *convenient* for the publick, since our wants and weaknesses are so great, and the best of us can pretend but to the *ordinary* assistance of Gods Spirit upon our humane *Endeavours*.

But I must confess, that I am not at all satisfied of the Truth of *that conceit*, that in the Christian Assemblies in the Apostles dayes, there were *no* manner of *Forms*; or that their *ordinary* or *standing* Services were performed wholly by *extemporaneous* suggestion. Indeed the Scripture gives us but little account of this matter: and therefore what is determin'd about it, must be concluded by the help of *Reason*, and some *Collateral* evidence. To the point then. The service of God consisteth of *Praises* and *Prayers*. Now that the Christians in the Apostles time had *composed* and *set* Forms of *praising* and *glorifying* God, seemeth highly probable from *1 Cor. 14. 26.* where St. Paul saith, that when they came together, *every one of them had a Psalm*. This is a general word, comprehending both *Psalmes* and *Hymns*, and *Spiritual Songs*, to the use whereof St. Paul adviseth Christians twice elsewhere; once in *Ephes. 5. 19.* and again, *Col. 3. 16.* Now 'tis hard to believe, that these several wayes of extolling Gods name, were conceived in the Church on a sudden by the whole Congregation. Rather it is credible, that they came *ready furnished* with suitable Forms; either with those which had been formerly compos'd by *David*, or with some that had been *lately* framed by Men *inspired*; or with *both* (which is most likely

καὶ γὰρ
ψαλμοὶ τῶ
παλαιῶν ἑ-
βραίων καὶ
ῥισμῶν.
S. Chrys. in
I Cor. 14. 26.

Euseb Hist.
Eccl. lib. 5.
cap. 28,

Plinius Tra-
jano.

likely.) For the same Spirit which moved the Prophets of old, did breath upon the Church now ; and 'tis probable, that as David and others did by the dictates of the Holy Ghost compose Forms of praising God for the use of the whole Congregation ; so in the Apostles time many were moved by the same Spirit to compose the like Christian Hymns, for the use of the whole Church. So St. Chrysostome tells us positively, that in those ancient times they did frame Psalms by the Gift of the Holy Ghost., And since the Apostle doth distinguish between these Psalms and those Revelations, which were given in an instant at the Church, it seemeth to be clear, that such Formes were conceived at home, by such as had the Gift of Tongues, and then (being rendered into a Language which they understood) were communicated to the People to be used by them at their solemn Meetings ; and so they had (or, came provided of) Psalms, when they came together. For the scope of the Apostle there is to shew, that every thing should be done in the Church, that others might receive benefit by it. And whereas some had the gift of speaking in strange Languages, and were apt to boast of their abilities, St. Paul in that Chapter proveth, that the Service of God should be performed in a known Tongue, that every Christian might bear a part in it ; and so he concludeth, that even the Psalms, which were composed by Persons inspired, should be first made intelligible, before they were used in their publick Assemblies, because all things were to be done to edifying. And truely that there were such divine Songs frequently used in the Apostles dayes, seemeth to be clear from a testimony in Eusebius. For speaking of several eminent Catholick Writers under the Emperour Severus, he saith, that in confuting the Heresie of Arterion (who denied the Godhead of our Saviour) they appealed to those Psalms and Hymns, which had been written in the beginning of Christianity by the Faithful ; in which Hymns they confessed Christ to be the Word of God, and worshipped him as God. To which I shall add that account given by Pliny the Heathen (who lived about St. John's time.) For writing to Trajan the Emperour, he informed him of the Christians, That they were a sort of People, that on a certain day were wont to meet together early in the morning, and did sing a Hymn unto Christ as unto God, and

and did bind themselves in a Sacrament, not to steal, not to commit adultery, &c. Questionless this Hymn was some set Form of Praise, which was used by the whole Congregation at the Communion Office. And if I may be allowed my conjecture, I conceive it might be that Hymn, which we find still in Clements Constitutions, the Clem. Const. lib. 7. in five.
 Tenor whereof is this; *Glory be to God in the Highest, Peace on Earth, good will among men. We praise thee, we sing unto thee, we bless thee, we glorifie thee, we worship thee through our Great High-Priest (thee, the very true God, the unbegotten, inaccessible Being) for thy great glory; O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty: O Lord God, the Father of Christ, that spotless Lamb, that taketh away the sin of the World: receive our prayer, thou that sittest upon the Cherubims. For thou only art holy; thou only, O Jesus, art the Lord, the anointed of God, our King, to whom be Glory, Honor, and Worship ascribed.* This was that *πρωτην ιωδην*, morning Prayer, or Hymn (so called in the * Constitutions,) and * κεφαλαιον.
 'twas usual at the close of the holy Sacrament. And if it was not this Hymn which Pliny mean't, some other of the like nature it was, which he pointed to. And so from all these Testimonies put together, I do conclude, that in the Apostles days there were certain set Forms of praise, which was one main part of the ordinary Service then, in their peculiar and select Assemblies.

2, As touching Prayers (which made up the other part of Gods Worship) S. Paul saith to Timothy, 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2. *I exhort, that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all men; for Kings, and for all that are in authority, &c.*

1. Here it is clear, that the Apostle doth enumerate several sorts, kinds, and parts of devotion, making a plain distinction and difference between supplications (against all evil things) and Prayers (for all good things) and Intercessions (for others as well for themselves) and Thanksgivings (for mercies already received.) There is no doubt, but he meaneth several distinct offices, unless we be so impudent as to affirm, that S. Paul heaped up many words to no purpose.

2. It is clear that he required, that these several offices should be observed, these distinct Acts of Devotion should be performed in the Christian Church: and to shew the necessity of it, the Apostle

Apostle exhorteth *Timothy* to take care of it, *first of all*.

3. It is as clear, that the *whole Church* of *Christ* hath conceived and taken for granted in all Ages, that the Apostle in this place did intend to fix a certain *Rule* of *Devotion*, and did order a *Platform* and *Model* to be observed in all *publick* *Services*, and especially at the *Celebration* of the holy *Communion*. Indeed the words of *S. Paul* do not force us to believe, that he required *Prayers* to be composed, and digested into a certain *Form* (although that expression, *κατὰ τὸν ὅρον*, may bear that sense:) but yet the Judgement of the *Church* was, that the Apostle did design and intend to have a standing *Rule* and *Model* of *Devotion* set up. *S. Chrysostome* puts the Question, *what doth the Apostle mean, when he saith, I exhort, that first of all supplications, prayers, &c.* τὰς εὐχαριστίας, ἐν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ τῇ καθήκοντι, *saith that excellent and Ancient Father; S. Paul meaneth that this must be done in our daily services: and this* (saith he) *we do daily both at Morning and Evening Service, such Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, they had prescribed and fixt; and in using them they did conceive, that they answered the Apostles design, and did*

S. Chrysost.
in 1 Tim. 2. 1.

Hæc Regula Ecclesiastica est tradita a Magistro Gentilium, qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent, &c.
Ambros. Comment.

according to his *Order*, *Directions*, and *Appointment*. To the same purpose *S. Ambrose* upon the place saith, *This is an Ecclesiastical Law, delivered by the Doctor of the Gentiles, and observed by our Priests, to pray for all men, and particularly for Kings, &c.* Questionless the good man

conceived, that the *Church* was obliged by virtue of this *Apostolical* precept, to use some *constant Forms* of *Prayer* for all men in *general*, and especially for such as were in *Authority*.

And though this was done frequently in the time of *Publick Service* (for fear they should fall short of their duty) yet *S. Austin* was of opinion, that *S. Paul* had an eye chiefly to the time when the Blessed *Sacrament* was celebrated, and that then these charitable *Prayers* were commanded to be made, as in their proper and fit place. And to confirm *S. Austins* opinion, I observe of the *Church of England*, that though *Prayers* for all men, and for *Kings*, be directed by her to be made in several places of her *Liturgy*, yet

In hujus [Sacramenti] Sanctificatione, & distributionis preparatione, existimo Apostolum jussisse proprie fieri προσευχάς, id est, Orationes. S. Aug. ep. 59. ad Paulin. Sol. q. 5.

in the prayer, for the whole Church before the Communion, particular mention is made of this command of the Apostles; as if (*in her judgement*) S. Paul required such Prayers to be used at that time chiefly. In a word; the manifest agreement of all Liturgies in this particular, and the constant, uniform, and universal practise of all Christians from the beginning all along, using certain Forms of Supplication, Prayer, Intercession, and Thanksgiving for all men, and for Kings especially, (and that too in the Communion-office) is a loud and clear argument to me, that they conceived this their practise to have been according to the Apostles order, and those their Forms to have been according to the Apostles mind. And hence I conclude, that either the whole Catholick Church hath not yet understood St. Pauls sense, but has been clearly mistaken in his meaning (which I hope will never be granted;) or else, that that carries much truth in it, which *Durantus* Cites out of *Haymo*, viz. that the Blessed Apostle directing his words to Timothy, did in and by him deliver unto all Bishops, and Presbyters, and to every Church a Form, how they should celebrate the Sacrament, and pray for all men; which Form, or Model, the whole Church doth observe. From all which, the least that we can gather, is, that certain Forms of Divine service were allowed and approved of, even in the Apostles time.

Durant. de Rit. Eccl. lib. 2. c. 33.

Haymo in i. Tim. in initio.

But to speak freely, it seems very probable, that the holy Apostles did, in their ordinary Ministrations, observe Forms of Prayer themselves, notwithstanding those extraordinary assistances of the Spirit, which they were blest with. I do not say, that they Prayed by Book, as they did in following Ages. Nor do I mean, that they tied themselves to words, as they did when the miraculous Gifts of the holy Ghost ceased: but this I do affirm, as highly probable, that the Apostles used a certain Form, or Method, and that the matter and substance of their ordinary services, was for the most part the same. My reasons are these three chiefly.

I. Because St. Paul advised Timothy (who was gifted, as well as others, 1 Tim. 4. 14.) to a fixt Rule, Model, and Form of Publick Devotion: which advice, it is not likely that he would have given unto him, had not he himself, and his fellow Apostles, observed the same course.

men, who were thus enabled to Pray; did teach others, either by *propounding prayers* to them, that they might give their consent to them, saying, *Lord have mercy*, or some such Form: or by *using the same prayers frequently*, so that by the *often repetition* of them they might the better be *fixed* in peoples *memories*; or by *committing those Prayers* which they had conceived, to *writing*, that they might be of *constant use* unto the whole Church, in their *ordinary services*. Which way soever we pitch upon, it is very *unlikely* that the Apostles, who ordered *all things* unto *edification*, would not order the *Worship* of God so, that all people might *go along* with them in it with their *hearts*, and with their *tongues* too. It is *unlikely*, that they, who did *insist* so much upon *order*, and *decency*, would not be careful rather of that which is most *material*. It is *unlikely*, that they, who would not *indure* any *Confusion*, any *Irreverence*, any *Uncomliness* (not so much as a mans *Head* to be *covered*) in the Service of God, would not *settle* the *service* it self, and cast it into such a *Model*, that all Christians might bear a *part* in it. The Learned and Judicious Dr. Hammond was clearly of opinion, that such as had the *Gift of prayer* in the Apostles days, did *first conceive*, and then did *frequently use* some *special Forms* of Prayer for daily and constant wants; and that these Forms were *received* and *kept* by Apostolical men, who had so benefited under them. And it seemeth reasonable to believe, that *this* was the *Original* of those Ancient *Liturgies*, which go under the names of *S. James*, *S. Peter*, *S. Mark*, &c. should it not be allowed, that *they* were the *Pen-men*, and *Compilers* of any Service-books, yet there are fair Arguments to perswade, that these and other *inspired* persons did *conceive*, *indite*, and *utter* many *admirable Forms* of Prayer, which are *still* in being (as to the *matter* and *substance* of them;) and that these *Forms* were *methodized* and *cast together* into several Bodies, by some Apostolical men, to be the *standing Church-service*. For, the extraordinary Gift of Prayer beginning to *fail*, there was a necessity for certain *fixt* and *prescript* Forms: and what better Forms could they use, then what had been used by the Apostles *themselves*; and which they *remembered*, and *knew*, and *kept upon Record*? And so, I conceive, the Ancient Liturgies came to be *compiled* and

View of the
New Directio
r7.

V. Concil. Milevit.
 Can. 12. Carthag.
 Can. 23. & Zonar.
 in Can. 18. Concilii
 Laodicensi.

perfected, by the pious diligence of holy and good men, who made what *Collections* they could of *this* and *that* Apostles prayers, and added others, where it was needful. For it was some considerable time, before these Liturgies were perfectly completed; because some Doctors of the Church were ever and anon desirous of prescribing new Forms of their own, and of adding them to the old stock. And this was a thing so usual in those early times, that some Councils were fain to interpose, and restrain men from adding Prayers of their own, at their pleasure. The Reason of this, was founded on the Practice of the Apostles and Apostolical persons (their Co-temporaries and Followers:) 'twas in imitation and by example of them, that Bishops in succeeding Ages did prescribe certain special prayers of their composing; because they had observed, that many Forms had been conceived heretofore by S. James for the use of the Churches of Jerusalem; and that the like had been done, not onely by other Apostles for the use of other Churches, but also by the Apostles immediate successors, who had collected many Prayers composed by their Predecessors, and added more of their own Conception: which gave encouragement to others to do so too, till Liturgies did swell so, that S. Basil and S. Chrysostome thought it convenient to abridge them. All this framing, composing, and prescribing of Forms of Prayer, was originally occasioned by Apostolical practice. And for what the Holy Apostles did in this matter, there are such precedents, as are beyond all manner of exception. For so did David and other inspired persons of old, conceive, prescribe, and deliver Forms of Service unto the Church under the Law. So did S. John the Baptist in Christs time, teach his Disciples to pray, by giving them a Form. Nay, so did Christ himself teach the very Apostles to pray, by delivering to them a most perfect Form of his own conception. And then, that the Apostles themselves (who were acted by the same Spirit) should likewise conceive, and give unto Christians Forms, also, I think no wise man will wonder; and that they used not the Lords prayer themselves in all their Services, I think none but a mad man will have the confidence to assert.

All which things being duely considered, I will take upon me

me to affirm, that as Set Forms of Divine Service were used by the Jews before and in the life-time of our Saviour, and by all Christians after the Age of the Apostles; so in that intermediate juncture of time, between the Ascension of our Saviour, and the settling of Christianity, set Forms of divine service were for certain allowed, and in all probability practised, used, and transmitted unto the Church, by the Apostles, themselves, and their Fellow-labourers, whose names were written in the Book of life. And so the first thing is dispatched, which I undertook to make out, touching the Ancient use of Set Forms of Divine Service in General. Thus far, to be sure, we tread in the old ways, in that we worship the God of our Father, as our old Fathers did, by a set and prescript Form.

2. Next I proceed to speak of this form in particular; I mean our English Liturgy, about which there have been longer contentions, then were once between the Angel and the Devil, disputing about the Body of Moses. I shall not insist either upon the Order, or the Expressions contained in our Service-book; because all Churches of old have taken the liberty of varying somewhat in these respects, though the main Body of their Liturgies was in a manner the same. But my intent is to take notice of the substance of our Service-book, and to observe what an Eye our Learned and pious Reformers had to the Ancient Model, when they compiled this, and to shew how agreeable our standing and ordinary offices are to those of Old, in their general Frame and Contexture. The incomparably Learned and Moderate Grotius, though he was a Foreigner, yet did us the right to affirm as a thing that was clear and certain, that the Liturgy of the Church of England was sufficiently correspondent to the usages of the Ancient Church. And if knowing men would but take the pains to consider and compare the particulars, they would find that our Liturgy is not onely agreeable to the oldest and Best, but moreover that it is the most pure and most perfect Liturgy that is now known to be in the whole world.

Jude 9.

Grot. Ep. ad
Cedeon. a
Boet.

We begin, as it becometh sinners and Penitents, with an humble and hearty confession of our offences. And if the Noble Du Plessis may be credited, so did the Jews begin their service

The Confes-
sion.
De Missa.
lib. 1. c. 3.

service, to which the *Apostles* and their *Disciples* did all conform. The same was the custome of Christians in following times. So the Authour *de Autoritate & ordine Officii Mozarabici* tells us of the Christians in Spain, who were mingled with the *Arabs*, that they began their Service with a General Confession. And so we find in the Rubrick at the beginning of the service on the Feast of St. James, *factâ prius confessione, uti fit in Missis Latinis, juxta usum Toletanum antiquum, dicitur Introitus*; Confession being first made, as in the Latine services it is usually done, according to the Ancient use of Toledo, the Introit is said. In like manner Cassander tells us of the Armenians, that their Priest having put on his habits said the Confession before the Altar with bended knees, and his head bowed down, according to the custome of the Latines. In both these Testimonies mention is made of the custome of the Latine Churches; that the Confession of the Spanish course was according to the way of the Latines; and that the Confession in the Armenian course was according to the custome of the Latines: so that in the Latine Churches, as well as in these, Service was begun (as with us) with a general confession. Now as for the Greek Church, St. Basil tells us, that in his time they did rise betimes, a good while before day, and went to the house of prayer, and there with pain, and affliction, and incessant tears made Confession unto God; and that with one mouth, and with one heart, every one professing his Repentance with his own tongue. Indeed St. Basil saith, that when this first course was over, at break of day, they made Confession again, using a Penitential Psalm (and so doth our Church, order the one and fiftieth Psalm to be used after Morning Prayer; and Litany, on the first day of Lent, and on other special days of Fasting:) but 'tis clear from his words, that the first thing the Greeks did, was to joyn in a solemn and devout Confession of their sins, at their publick meeting together.

In like manner, the Lords Prayer is constantly used in the entrance to our Morning and Evening Service: And this is agreeable to the Ancient practice of the Church. We meet together, saith Tertullian, that we may offer holy violence unto God, beseging him by prayer (there, Prayer is intimated to have been their first business.) But then he saith elsewhere, that
the

De Aut. Et
Ord. Off. Mu-
zar. c. 37.

Cassand.
Liturgic.
Cap. 1.2,

Basil. ep. 63.
ad Cler. Neo-
cesar.

See the Com-
mination.

The Lords
Prayer.

Tertul.
Apol. c. 39.

the Lords Prayer was premised and used first as the foundation of their Devotion, to which they might add, and on which they might build other occasional prayers, having used that before. And as touching our frequent use of the Lords prayer, any man that consults the Ancient Liturgies, may see how agreeable it is to the old way.

Premissa legitima & ordinaria oratione quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi, &c. Tert. de Oratione.

That short Address, O Lord, open thou our lips; together with the Response; And our mouth shall shew forth thy praise, *The Versicles* are part of Psal. 51. 15. And it has been noted before, that the Jews used that Form before their Prayers; and that Christians continued the use of it, and is still to be seen in the Liturgy ascribed to S. James; and in S. Chrysostomes.

The Doxology is a short Confession of our Faith in the Blessed Trinity, and an Act of Adoration and Worship, and moreover an Argument of the holiness of our purposes; and therefore is fit to be used often, as a signification that all our confessions, praises, prayers, &c. are intended, and directed all of them to the Glory of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That it was of Ancient and Universal use both in the Eastern and Western Churches is most certain; and that it was used at the ends of Psalms before the fourth Council of Toledo, and in Cassians time (which was above twelve hundred years ago) is as certain. The only question is about the time, when it was first appointed; and commonly it has been said, that the Fathers of the Nicene Council ordered it (which yet was about the year three hundred twenty five.) But Questionless, the use of it is much Elder. For the Arrians corrupted and altered it, saying, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost.* But had it been an Hymn newly appointed at Nice, instead of altering they would have utterly rejected it. But the Hymn was in use long before; for we find it in Clemens Alexandrinus (who lived about Anno 190.) And 'tis *Clem. Alex. Padag.* likely that 'twas derived from an higher Fountain (though that's high enough;) and if the three hundred and eighteen Fathers at Nice ordered a constant use of it at the end of every Psalm, and in other parts of Liturgy, to secure Religion from the poyson of the old Arrians; methinks it should be

be as Religiously observed now, to secure our Faith from the poyson of *Socinians*, *Quakers*, and other Modern and *Blasphemous* impugnors of the Doctrine of the ever Blessed and most Glorious *Trinity*.

The Introit.

Durant.
de rit. lib. 2.
cap. 11.

It has been likewise an old and general custome, at the opening of the Service, and before the *set repetitions* of *Dauids* Psalms, to sing some Hymn, which was called the *Introit*, or *Entrance-Hymn*. The reason of the Appellation is given by *Rhenanus* in his Notes upon *Tertullian* (as he is Cited by *Durantus*,) because it was sung, while people were entring into the Church, and before the Congregation was quite full. And *Rhenanus* saith, that it was a Psalm of *David*. In the book concerning the order of the *Musarabe*, 'tis said, that, *Judica me, Deus* did follow the Confession (I suppose, the twenty sixth Psalm is there meant.) But our Church useth the ninety fifth; as being a *solemn Irritation*, to stir up mens Devotion, and to inflame their zeal, and to prepare their hearts, for the due performance of the rest of the Service; and for that reason was intended by the Psalmist, for Publick Assemblies. And in this matter, the Church of England followeth the steps of Pious Antiquity. For *Cassander* speaking of the order of *S. Chrysostomes* Liturgy, tells us, that about the beginning of the Service, the Readers did say (or sing) that Psalm, Entitled, *Venite exultemus*. And by what we find in the Ritual of *Jacobus Gear*, it is evident, that this Psalm was generally used throughout the Eastern Churches.

Cassand.
Liturgic. c. 7.

The Psalms
and Lessons,

Consequent to this are the *Psalms* of *David*. A Book never to be used enough, because it containeth the marrow and flour of holy Scripture, and is the Repository of Devotion. Therefore it made up a great part of the Jewish Liturgy (as it doth of ours;) and all Christians in all Ages have had this admirable Exercise in such esteem, that the Service of God was never performed without it. *St. Paul*, and *S. James*, mention it as an excellent piece of Divine Service in their times, and by all Records of Antiquity in following Ages we find, that Christians were wonderfully zealous in this point; that they were wont for the most part to sing them; that they spent much time in this Divine and Heavenly

venly exercise; and that they Sang, not some *ends* and *shreds*, but *whole* Psalms, and a *great portion* of the Psalter at a time; insomuch that *Lucian*, that old Scoffer at Christ and Christianity, jeered the Church for spending a great *part* of the *night* in singing of Hymns (or Psalms.) For *St. Basil* tells us, that they did rise to it very *early*, and very *long* before day; and having made solemn *Confession* of their sins, they did rise from prayer, and fall (as we do, especially in *Cathedral* and *Collegiate* Churches) to the *singing of Psalms*, and so spent the remaining part of the night. The truth is, so intent and earnest they were upon this matter, that to make it the less tiresome they did *insert* Prayers between whiles; yea, and read some *Chapters* and *Lessons* out of the Scriptures; and then fall to singing again. So it was appointed by the *Laodicean* Council; that between the Psalms there should be Lessons read; for which *Balsamon* and *Aristenus*, give this reason, *least people should be tired with continued Singings*. And before that Council we find it prescribed in the *Apostles* Constitutions, that *two Lessons* should be read out of the old Testament, and then that they should sing again; and then other portions of Scripture out of the New Testament likewise. And correspondent to this, is the usage of the *Church of England*, interlacing *Hymns* (and chiefly, some *Psalms* of *David*, between *Lesson* and *Lesson*.

ὅτι παννύχως
ὕμνωσας
ἐπαυπῶ-
ντες.

Luc. in Philop.

Basil. ep. 63.

Precibus subinde interseritis noctem superant. Id.

ibid.

Laod. Concil. Can. 17.

Constit. lib. 2. Cap. 57.

The Hymns.

Of which Hymns, the *Te Deum*, is the *first*; which is certainly as *old* as *St. Ambrose*, and some have confidently told us, that as soon as, that great Luminary of the Church, *St. Austin*, had been baptized by *S. Ambrose*, both of them did in a Divine Rapture, break forth into *this* Form of Praise. The truth of the story must depend upon the Credit of its Authours: But this is plain, that ever since, it has been used by the *whole Universal Church*; and when I consider its admirable strain, and other excellencies, I am apt to think, that the Spirit of God moved upon the face of those Waters, where it was conceived.

The Song of the three Children (commonly called, the *Benedicite*) is but a larger Edition of the one hundred forty eighth Psalm; and was framed in imitation of the style of Psalm 136. And that it was used above a thousand years ago by

Can. 13.

the whole Catholick Church all over the World, we have the whole Council of *Toledo* to bear us witness: besides other single Testimonies of the use of it in the first Ages of Christianity.

Apol. 15. 3.

The rest of our Hymns are all of *Divine* composition, and as old as our Saviours time: And why they may not be Sung (being parts of *Scripture*) as well as other Psalms and Hymns, passeth my skill to know. For if they, whom *S. John* saw in *Heaven*, did sing the Song of *Moses*; what hinders but we on *Earth* may sing the Song of the *Holy Virgin*, or the Song of *Zachary*, or the Song of *Simeon*? Certainly we cannot follow a better Pattern, than what was shewed on the *Mount*.

The Prayers.

Our Service concludes, as it did of old both in the *Jewish*, and *Christian* Church; with several Prayers. And though these Prayers are not to be found in any Ancient Liturgies, in so many express words (except that excellent Prayer of *S. Chrysostome*) yet the substance and matter of them is to be found in all. For nothing is more consonant to the Ancient Spirit and Genius of Christianity, or more agreeable to the Practice of all Churches in all Ages, then to pray (sometimes in short Collects, and sometime in shorter versicles) for *Grace*, for *Peace*, for the *Divine protection*, for *Plenty*, for *seasonable weather*, for *wholesome air*, for *deliverance from Plagues*, and *Enemies*, for the *King*, for the *Clergy*, and their respective *Flocks*, for *Magistrates*, for the *whole Church*, and indeed for *all men*. And of this nature and strain are those ordinary and occasional prayers, with which our daily Service is wont to end.

The Litany.

Great exceptions have been taken, by some, at our *Litany*: and yet it is as charitable, and as *Christian* a piece of Devotion, as ever could be framed by humane Pen, if people will but bring with them hearts that are as good, as the matter before them is excellent: Here is *Fire and Wood* enough, if the *Lamb* be not wanting for the Sacrifice. Our *Litany* consisteth of two main parts. The one is offered up by the Minister going before in supplications, prayers, and intercessions (exactly according to *S. Paul's Rule*, 1 *Tim. 2.*) The other part is offered up by the people following after in their joynt suffrages and with such

such earnest and importunate cryes, as pierce the highest Heaven. Now, this way of expressing our Devotions, by turns (the Minister in his turn, and the Congregation in theirs) is not only an admirable way to kindle and enflame each others zeal; but moreover, 'tis a way and method suitable to the way and method of Gods Spirit, and used many hundreds of years (or, Ages) before the date of Christianity.

1. For the Ministers going before the people, both by his example, and by calling upon them to joyn with him. We find, it was the continual practice of David, not onely to make Addressies himself unto God; but also to invite, and call upon others to do so likewise. O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us magnifie his name together; praise the Lord, ye house of Israel: praise the Lord, ye house of Aaron: praise the Lord, ye house of Levi: ye that fear the Lord, praise the Lord: and in Psal. 107. O give thanks unto the Lord; O that men would praise the Lord; which form is repeated again no less than three times in the same Psalm, as an admonition to keep up the Devotion of People. And are not those Ancient Litany-forms used by the Deacons, (Let us pray, let us beseech the Lord, let us pray earnestly, are they not) exactly answerable to these Forms of Allocution used by this inspired and holy man? If the Spirit thought fit to have such Forms used in praising God; it is not unsuitable to the usual strain of that Spirit, to use the like Forms in praying unto God too.

2. As touching the peoples following the Minister by their suffrages, it is a method no more unbecoming Gods Spirit, then the other; and nothing has been more customary, than for the people to have their turns, and to bear a part in Gods Worship. After that remarkable victory over Pharaoh and his forces, the whole body of the Jews stood upon the shore of the Red Sea, to bless God for their deliverance: and we find, *Exod. 15.* that Moses the Prophet and the men of Israel divided themselves into one body, and Miriam the Prophetess with the women of Israel divided themselves into another body; and as Moses and the men Sang his Triumphant Hymn, so Miriam and the women answered them, saying, Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the

Horſe and his Rider laſt he thrown into the Sea. This Form of Praise they repeated (in all probability) after every verſe of Moſes Song: for we read of nothing elſe that they answered, but only, *Sing ye to the Lord, &c.* And if they had a Form of praise, which they repeated after every verſe as the ground, and foot, and burden of the Hymn; is it unſuitable, if we have a Form of prayer for the people to repeat after every Petition, as the ground, foot, and burden of the Litany? If they were directed by the Spirit of God, when Moſes went before them in a Song, to answer, *Sing ye unto the Lord,* (when they were delivered) then it is alſo agreeable to the ſtyle of the ſame Spirit, when the Miniſter goeth before us in our prayer, for us to answer, *Good Lord deliver us.* Further, it is to be conſidered, that the 136th. *Pſalm* ſcemeth to have been compoſed by the Prophet on purpoſe, that the end of each Verſe might be repeated throughout by the whole Congregation; *O Give thanks unto the Lord, for he is gracious; and his mercy endureth for ever, for his mercy endureth for ever, for his mercy endureth for ever:* this is the burden of the *Pſalm* from the beginning to the cloſe of it. And we may eaſily collect from 2 *Chron.* 5. 13. that at the Dedication of *Solomons Temple* this *Pſalm* was repeated thus by turns, one of the Priests ſaying before, the former part of each Verſe, and then all the Singers following after with one voice, and ſaying (all along) *for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever.* And ſince they were directed by Gods Spirit to ſubjoyn throughout their prayers, *for his mercy, for his mercy, for his mercy endureth for ever;* it cannot be thought unbecoming Gods Spirit, if we are directed to ſubjoyn in our Prayers, *Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy, Lord have mercy upon us.* And ſo, I hope, the Form and Contexture of our Litany, will ſeem to every indifferent perſon, to be free from all charge of vanity and ſuperſtition.

2. It is free alſo from all juſt charge of *Unconſtancy* and *Innovation.* Many indeed judge of things by *Modern* uſage and practice; and becauſe they have been accuſtomed to long continued effuſions, they look upon our Litany as an odd, and a new device, for which we were beholding to the *Roman Miſſal*

Missal. But 'tis clear to every knowing man, that it was a very *Ancient* and a very *usual* way among Christians, to pray *Litany-wise*. It was so *Ancient* a way, that for ought any man knows to the contrary, it was used in the most *early* times of Christianity. For in the *oldest* Rituals which are in being, there are *many* such Forms of Prayer; and some *Ancient* Service-books do consist of such for the *most* part. 'Tis true indeed, they were not called *Litanies* at the *first*, but *diakonika*, *Diaconick* Prayers, because they were wont to be Ministered by the *Deacon*; and *menika*, *Pacifick* Prayers, because the *purport*, and *scope* of them, was for *peace* in the World and among all mankind. 'Tis true also, that in *after times* (above 300 years after Christ) these Forms of Prayer came to be used at solemn and publick *processions*, when times were *calamitous* and full of *peril*, and the destroying Angel was abroad; and then several *additional* Prayers were *inserted* (*proper* and suitable to the occasion) the people still crying with a loud voice, that *God would deliver them from such and such evils*. And then they were called *Litanies*, and *Rogations*. Hence it is, that *Mamertus* and others are said to have framed *Litanies*, because they *enlarged* them, and used them in manner aforesaid. And hence it is, that *S. Basil* told the *Clergy* of *Neocæsaria*, that there were no *Litanies* in *Gregory's* days; because that *name*, and that *use* of them was not *then* known. But yet it is *as true*, that such *Forms* of supplication and earnest Prayer were very *anciently* in use, and *before* the times either of *Basil* or *Gregory*: and *S. Chrysostome* in his Homily upon *Rom. 8.* deriveth the *Original* of them from the *Apostles* times. And truly, the *general* use of them doth argue, that this way of praying cannot well be derived from any other Fountain: for it was an *Universal*, as well as *Ancient* way. Look into that old Liturgy used by the Christians in *India*, and you shall find large *Litanies* (that is, Prayers *Litany-wise*, call them what you will.) Look into the *Æthiopian Liturgy* (called, the *Universal Canon*) and you shall find *Litanies*. Look into the *Mosarabe*, or *Spanish Course*, and you shall find *Litanies*. Look into the *Ambrosian office*, and you shall find *Litanies*. Look into the *Jerusalem Liturgy*, and you shall

Eucholog.

find *Litanies*. Look into *S. Chrysostomes*, and *S. Basils Liturgies*; and those other offices collected by *Goar*, and you shall still find *Litanies*. And look into that most Ancient Service-book, called the *Constitutions* of the *Apostles*, and you shall find *Litanies* frequently used, at *ordinations*, and in their *daily Service* and *Prayers* for the *Catechumeni*, for *penitents*, for *persons* vexed with *evil Spirits*, for such as were *Baptized*, and afterwards at the *Lords Table* too, for the *whole Catholick Church* and its *Members*, before the *Holy Communion*. Can any thing speak louder for the *Ancient* and *Universal* use of *Litanies*? And whence should this come, but from *Apostolical practice*? For the *Primitive Christians* were not easie to be imposed upon, or to be perswaded out of their *old, beaten way*: Witness, (for all) the *Condemnation* of *Petrus Gnapheus* and his followers, for adding only a little *Formula*, to that received and usual *Hymn*, *holy God, holy and strong, holy and immortal, have mercy upon us*. To this they subjoyned another clause, *thou that wast Crucified for us, have mercy on us*, and the sixth Council in *Trullo* condemned the *Author* of it for a *wicked* and *wile Heretick*, and *Anathematiz'd* all that should use that *Form* for the future: for their fear was, lest by that *Additament* it should be *intimated*, that our *Saviour* was a fourth person, *distinct* from the three persons in the *holy Trinity*. The *Fathers* of *Old* were *wise*, and *wary*, and fearful of *Innovations* in the *publick Service*. And then, how the *general* use of *Litanies* could be brought into the *Church*, but by such practice, as they took to be a *safe* and *authentick* *Precedent*, I cannot well understand, or imagine.

3. The *Antiquity* of our *Litany* being thus cleared, as to its *Form* and *Contexture*; next I am to shew its *Antiquity*, as to its *matter* and *substance* likewise. Now this will easily appear by observing the strain of the *Ancient Litanies*; which though I have already represented *in part*, yet for the further information of the *Vulgar* sort, I shall add, that they began and ended (as our *Litany* doth) with, *Lord have mercy*. They prayed (and that many times by the *Mercies* and *Compassions*; as we do by the *Sufferings*, *Cross*, *Passion*, &c. of our *Saviour*) that *God* would deliver them, from the *snarcs* of the *Devil* — from the

V. Can. 81.
C. ncil. sexti
in Trullo: una
cum Balsam.
& Blast.

Lit. S. Basil.
Lit. S. Chrys.

the assaults of enemies— from the unclean Spirit of Fornication— from famine, pestilence, earthquakes, inundations, fire, sword, invasion, and civil Wars— from all affliction, wrath, danger, and distress— from all sin and wickedness— from an untimely end— and sudden death. They prayed, that God would keep them every day in peace, and without sin— that he would grant them remission of their sins, and pardon their transgressions— that he would give them things that were good and beneficial to their souls— that they might lead the residue of their lives in peace and repentance— that they might persevere in the Faith to the end— and that the end of their lives might be Christian, and peaceable, without torment, and without shame. They prayed for the peace, and tranquility of the World, and of all Churches— for the holy Catholick Church from one end of the earth to the other— for Kings— for Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons— for Virgins, Orphans, and Widows— for such as were in bonds, and imprisonment— for such as were in want, necessity, and affliction— for married persons and women labouring of child— for such as were sick, and weak, and in their last Agony— for banished people and slaves— for their enemies and persecutors— for persons at Sea and travellers by Land— for them that were without, and such as erred from the Right way— for Infants and young Children— and for every Christian soul: And to every of these particular supplications, the Congregation did answer, sometimes, Lord have mercy; sometimes, Grant it us, O Lord; and sometimes, we beseech thee, O Lord, hear us. This was the constant, general and most charitable way of praying in the first and purest Ages of Christianity; and the way which the Church of England had a careful eye unto, at the digestion of our Litany into its Form and Model; and whosoever will but compare the most Ancient Litanies with ours, will find, that this of ours is not only answerable to the best, and of the same strain and Spirit with the best; but moreover that it contains the very marrow and quintessence of them all. And so much touching the Antiquity of our Litany.

Proceed we now to the Office at the holy Communion; which anciently was never Celebrated without premising the Lords Prayer: for which reason it is used with us at the beginning of that Service.

After

Can. Univers.

Lit. Basil.

Orat. Lucern.

Lit. S. Chrys.

Off. Mazar.

et Eucholog.

Lit. S. Chrys.

Lit. S. Jac.

Lit. S. Chrys.

Lit. omnes.

Off. Ambros.

Miss. Christ.

apud. Indof.

Clem. Const.

Const. lib. 8.

Lit. S. Chrys.

Offertory.

Justin M.
Apolog. 2.

After all the people were dismissed save onely those who intended to Communicate, the Primitive Christians presented their Offerings; which by the Minister were reverently laid upon the Lords Table. These offerings were so large and liberal that they served to maintain the whole Body of the Clergy, and were a good provision for Orphans and Widows, for sick persons, and such as were in bonds, for strangers, and for all that were in want. This custome of making Offerings before the Sacrament is so Ancient, that nothing can be more. We find it in all Liturgies, and other Ancient Records, as in Origen, Tertullian, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Ignatius, and other the most Primitive Writers, so that without all peradventure this custome is founded upon Apostolical Institution: and exactly agreeable to this most Ancient and Christian custome, is that Offertory, appointed in our English Service-book.

The Prayer
for the Catho-
lick Church.

Comment on
1 Tim. 2.

Clem. Const.
lib. 8.

S. Cyril. Ca-
tech. 5.

Justin Mart.
Apol. 2.

Ambros. de
Sac. lib. 4. c. 4.

Cyril. Ca-
tech. 5.

Next follows the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant here in earth; which is highly consonant to the practice of the Universal Church in all Ages, in respect both of its order and matter. For, first, before the reception of the Sacrament, a Prayer of this Nature was ever offered, and that (saith S. Ambros.) according to the Rule delivered by S. Paul. In some places I find that this Prayer was used, once before the Consecration of the Elements, the Deacon inditing it, and the people answering Litanywise, Lord have mercy: and after Consecration it was repeated again by him that Ministred in chief, the people answering only, Amen. But never was the Sacrament administred without supplications in the first place for the people, for Kings, and for the rest, as St. Ambrose speaks. And to the same purpose St. Cyril tells us, that the Spiritual Sacrifice being prepared, they went solemnly to prayer, for the common peace of the Churches, for the tranquillity of the World, for Kings, for their Armies and Allies, for sick and afflicted people, and for all that stood in need of help. And of the truth of this, all Liturgies extant are an abundant proof. 2. Then as touching the particular matter of this excellent and Catholick Prayer, it is observable.

Clem. ep. ad
Cor. p. 52.

1. That our Church calleth the things laid upon the Lords Table, not only Alms, but Oblations, and so did the Ancients call them; even S. Clement himself, S. Pauls fellow-labourer. For the

the old Christians conceived themselves obliged to make Offerings of Praise and Thanksgiving under the Gospel, as well as Abel did before the Law, and the Jews did under the Law. The Species of Sacrifice was changed indeed (for they offered not *Bullocks and Goats*;) but they did not think that all kinds of Offerings were abolished: but that they were bound to present Eucharistical Oblations unto God, that they might be found thankful unto the Maker of the Universe, as *Irenæus* speaks. So that in lieu of bloody Sacrifices, they presented Bread and Wine, and the first fruits of their increase, besides sums of money. And these were called Oblations; gifts, whereby they acknowledged Gods right and propriety unto all their Possessions, that the Earth is the Lords and the fulness thereof: not as if he needed these gifts, but as humble Thanksgivings unto his Sovereignty. And so they were wont to profess in those days, *τὰ ἑα ἔκ τῶν ὧν, Lord we restore unto thee some of thine own things.* *Iren. lib. 4. c. 34. V. Mede's Christian Sacrifice.*

Offerimus, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes dominatōni ejus. Iren. ut suprà.

2. Our Church prayeth, that God would accept these our Alms and Oblations; which is perfectly answerable to the old custom; for so the first Christians did beseech God, that in mercy he would look upon their offerings, and accept them as a sweet Odour, through the Intercession of Christ. *Clem. Const. lib. 8.*

3. Then our Church goes on praying for the Universal Church, for Kings, Princes, and Magistrates, for the Clergy, and the rest. And thus did all the Churches of old pray, for the holy Catholick Church, and *ἡ ἐκκλησία τῶν ἁγίων*, from end to end, for Kings and all in Authority, that they may be at peace with us, and that we living in all quietness and concord, may glorifie thee all our days through Jesus Christ: for all holy Bishops, rightly dividing the word of truth; for all Presbyters and Deacons; for all thy people, and all that are in want and distress, &c. *Id. ibid.*

4. Last of all, it is customary with us at the end of this Prayer to make mention of the Saints departed: and so twas ever customary with all the Churches of old; to bless God for their Faith, Perseverance, and Martyrdomes; beseeching, that they might be made partakers of their consiēt, and with them might have their perfect Consummation and bliss. This was

τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων προνοούμενων, ὅπως αὐτοὶ γένηται τῆς ἀδελφότητος αὐτῶν καὶ ἀξιοδόξου. Clem. Const. lib. 8.

*In fide morientium devotè
memoriam agimus, tam illorum
refrigerio gaudentes, quam eti-
am nobis piam consummationem
in fide postulantes. Origen, lib.
3. in Job. p. 274. Ed. Par.
See Bishop Ushers Ans. to the
Challenge.*

the first design of these memorials of the dead ; which latter Ages corrupted, adding Prayers for the release of souls out of a pretended Purgatory. But this conceit and practice was never known in the Ancient and best times: And therefore our honest Church resolving to bring things to their first stay, threw out of her Prayers this dross, and litter, and filthy stuff, retaining that which was pure and Primitive.

*Dominus Vo-
bis cum.*

*Cypr. de Orat.
Dom.*

*Sursum cor-
da, &c.*

Among those things which have been corrupted in the old Liturgies (as we now have them) there are some things which have passed all along untouched. As that salutation of the Minister, *the Lord be with you* ; and the peoples Answer, *and with thy Spirit* : it is every where to be found, in the ancientest Monuments. And so that other, *sursum corda*, *lift up your hearts*, with the return, *we lift them up unto the Lord* ; we find it in S. Cyprian, and S. Cyril, and in every Liturgy. As also the following exhortation, *let us give thanks unto our Lord God*, and the subsequent acknowledgement, *it is meet and right so to do*, the Minister going on *ἀξιον ἔστιν δίκαιον*. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, &c. these Forms are still entire in all Service-books, that they may rationally be concluded to have sprang from Apostolical practice.

*V. Lit. Jacob. Marc. Petri.
Æthiop. Mosar. Christian. a-
pud. Ind. Clem. Constit. cum mul-
tis aliis.*

And so, the *ἁγιοὶ ἄγγελοι*. Therefore with Angels, and Arch-angels, and all the company of Heaven, &c. together with the Trisagium following (which was joyntly repeated by the whole Congregation) *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of Hosts*, &c. they are Forms which were very anciently and universally used at this time, but somewhat more largely, and with a little inconsiderable difference ; for thus they said of old, before thee do stand, praising and worshipping thee numberless Hosts of Angels, Arch-angels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, and Powers ; the Cherubim, and the six-winged Seraphim, with two wings covering their feet, and with two wings covering their faces, and with two wings flying, and crying continually and incessantly, with thousands and thousands of Arch-angels, and with myriads and myriads of Angels, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, Heaven and Earth are full of thy glory: Blessed be thou unto all Ages, world without End, Amen.*

In like manner the Prayer of Consecration (which comes next)

is very agreeable to that Form, which was of *most ancient usage*: *The Prayer of Consecration.* only it is *shorter* than that *old, affectionate and devout Prayer*, wherein they *commemorated the wonderful love of God and Christ to an undone world*, and made mention of his *Humility, Incarnation, Birth, Life, Miracles, Passion, Death and Burial*; then *thanked God for the Redemption of the World by these methods of Love and Wisdom*; then *proceeded to the History of this Sacraments Institution*, using the *same words as we do, who in the same night that he was betray'd took Bread, &c. and likewise the Cup, saying, &c. and at last prayed unto the Father of Lights, that he would look favourably upon the Elements, and send his holy Spirit to sanctifie them, so that whosoever did partake thereof might be confirmed in Religion, and receive remission of sins, and be filled with the holy Ghost.* *Const. lib. 8.*

These things done, and all having received, they proceeded (even as we do) to a *Prayer of Thanksgiving*: which (as we find *Post Communion.* it in the *Book of Constitutions*) did so resemble (for the most part of it) that *second Prayer after the Communion*, prescribed in our Liturgy, as if it were none other than a *Copy and Translation* of it.

After that, they used that *Angelical Hymn, Glory to God on High, &c.* concerning which I cannot but observe the Conjecture of the Learned, *Dr. Hammond*, that it is that *πολυώνυμος Ὕμνος*, which *Lucian the Heathen Scoffer* pointed to, when (speaking in the person of *Triephton*, who represents the *Christian*) "he saith, let those words alone, beginning your prayer, *ἀπὸ Πατρὸς* from the Father, and adding in the end, *τῷ πολυώνυμῳ ὡδῷ* that famous Ode or Hymn (full of Synonymous and repeated words.) The Doctor conceives, that by the former is intended the *Pater Noster*, with which both now and anciently the *Communion-Service* was begun, and that by the latter is meant that *Hymn of ours, Glory be to God on high — we praise thee — we bless thee —* with which that Service ends (having nothing but the *Benediction* after it) which being so powerful and importunate repetition of *O Lord God, Heavenly King, and O Lord God, Lamb of God, &c.* is most properly called *πολυώνυμος ὡδῷ*, in the notion that it was used in among the Heathen Writers. Now, if this opinion of *Dr. Hammonds*

The Hymn, View of the Direct. in Philopat.

be right, we have a most *pregnant* account of the *Antiquity* of this Hymn; because *Lucian* lived about *S. John* the Evangelists time: but however we find it in *Clements Constitutions*.

I have insisted the longer, and the more particularly upon the *Antiquity* of our *Service-book*, to satisfy the World, that it was not taken out of the *Roman* mint; neither is a late invention without good Authority and Precedent; but that it hath the practice of the *Old Apostolical Churches* and times to warrant and patronize it, however it is now *sighted* and *hated* by a sort of people among us, who either cannot, or will not distinguish between an *invaluable Jewel*, and the *dry, harsh husk* of a sorry *Barley-corn*. I shall conclude this whole matter with that known story of *Arch-Bishop Cranmer* in the reign of *Queen Mary*; how he offered the *Queen*, if he might be permitted to take unto him *Peter Martyr*, and four or five more, to prove that the *Communion-office* set out by *King Edward* the sixth, was conformable to that which *Christ* commanded, and which the *Apostles* and *Primitive Church* used many years: And that the whole *Order* of *Divine Service*, then used by the Church of *England*, was the same (meaning, in effect and substance) that had been used in the *Catholick Church* for fifteen hundred years past. By what has been said hitherto, it doth appear, that the *Zealous Prelate* spake not without good Reason: But the Challenge would not be accepted, because the *Learned* sorts of *Papists* knew, that the thing could be made out. And though some *ignorant*, and some *malicious* men among our selves, have been pleased to say, that our *Liturgy* was taken out of the *Mass-Book*, yet the most *judicious* and most *unprejudiced* Protestants have looked upon it to be (as in Truth it is) a most *strong Bullwark* and *Fence* against *Popery*. And indeed, the *Papists themselves* know it to be so; and therefore, upon the restoring of *Popery* in *Queen Maries* time, they did with all haste and fury throw our *Excellent Liturgy*, and the *wise Compilers* of it into the *Fire*: and surely, none but *Mad men* and *Fools* would have served their friends so.

The *Antiquity* of our *Rites*, *Customes* and *Usages* comes to be considered in the next place. And truly, there are some *Ecclesiastical Observations*, which we meet with in the most *Ancient Writers* of the *Greek* and *Latine Churches*, of whose Birth and Original

Foxes's *Martyrol.* Anno 1554, in his purgation.

nal, I believe the *Learnedst* men in Christendom cannot shew us the particular time, by the help of their *best* readings: nor can they who *dislike* them, shew us, when they came *first* into the Church.

1. The first is the use of the *Cross*, especially at the time of *Baptism*. *Mercerus Uticensis* in his additions to the *Hieroglyphicks* of *Orus Apollo*, tells us, that the *Cross*, among the *old Egyptians* was an Emblem of the *Life to come*. What their reason was, I am not to enquire: But *Ruffinus* relates the same thing; and moreover tells us, that the *Aegyptians* (and especially their *Priests*, who understood their *Mysteries best*) the more willingly embraced the *Christian Religion*, for the *Cross* sake, calling to mind its *ancient* signification. The *Ancient Christians*, though they never worshipped the *Cross*, yet they used the sign of it, as an outward badge of their Profession; and all that were received into the Church, received this sign upon their foreheads, in token that they were not ashamed of a *Crucified Saviour*. 'Tis recorded of the *Gnosticks* those first Hereticks, who denied the reality of *Christs Incarnation and Passion*) that they branded their Profelytes with an hot *Iron* in the upper part of their right ear; and some conjecture, that *S. Paul* reflected upon that custome of theirs, where he saith, that they had *Consciences seared with an hot Iron* (meaning) as well as their ears.) But in all probability, this custome was taken up in opposition to the true Christians, who were marked with the sign of the *Cross*, upon their foreheads. *S. Basil*, I am sure, reckons it in the first place, among the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, which were derived by Tradition from the *holy Apostles*; and indeed the use of the *Cross* was so ancient and so universal over all the *Christian World*, that unless we fix the Original of it in the *Apostles* time, we shall never tell in what Age it began.

2. The Second is, the worshipping of God with the face towards the East; which the *Centuriators* themselves confess to have been a very ancient custome; for it was a *Primitive* and *Catholick* observation in the very dawning of Christianity. Several of the Fathers have given several different Reasons of this Rite. But *Origen* (tho in some places he seemeth to render some account of it, yet elsewhere he) reckons it amongst those ancient

Antiquus & hic mos est, orare facie conversa ad Orientem. Cent. 2. c. 6.

Origen. Hom. 9. in Lev. & in lib. 1. Job. p. 233. Hom. 5. in Num.

Customes

Ibid.

Basil. de Spir. Sancto, c. 23.
Respons. 118.

Inde suspitio,
quod innote-
rit nos ad O-
rienus regio-
nem precari,
Tertul. Apol.
c. 16.

Lent.

Customes, of which no *clear* Reason was commonly given. However, as to matter of *Fact*, the Custom is acknowledged to to have been *general* in the *first* Ages; and both *Origen* and *Basil*, and the Author of the Questions and Answers *ad Orthodoxos*, do all fetch this Practise of the Church from the directions of the *Apostles*. Briefly, 'twas such an *ancient* and *universal* usage, that the *old Heathens* fancied the Christians to have taken up the *Persian Religion*, and to have worshipped the Sun. The occasion of this suspicion is (saith *Tertullian*) *because it is known that we pray towards the East* (just such another fancy and groundless suspicion as some have taken up of *Us* now, that we worship the *Lords Table*, because we worship towards the *East* part of the Church, where the Table standeth.)

3. A third Custome we have (but very ruinous, and of which there are now but *few* and *scattering* Monuments, but what we find in our *Liturgy* and in the *Ancients*) and 'tis the *Fast of Lent*. And 'tis a sign that Christianity is becom *decrepitate*, that Men are so *peevish* and *touchy*, as to quarrel with one of the most *excellent* Observations, that was ever recommended to the Church. I know it has been the Subject of many great *Disputes*: But 'tis a great marvel, that, if it were an *Innovation*, (and much rather, if it were a piece of *Superstition*) no *learned* Man should yet have the luck to light upon its *Author*, or the *Time* when it did commence (for, that 'twas instituted by *Telephorus*, is an idle dream.) It seemeth unquestionably true, that a *solemn Fast* before *Easter* was religiously observed by all Christians from the very *beginning*. For we do not only meet with such a Fast in the Writers of the *third* and *fourth* Century; but even *Origen* tells us, that in his time, *They had the days of Lent set a part for Fastings*. And *Tertullian* (then a *Montanist*, and disputing against the Church upon the point of *Fasting*) tells us, that his *Adversaries* (the *Catholicks*) did conceive, *That those dayes whereon the Bridegroom was taken away* (meaning *Friday* and *Saturday* before *Easter*) *were determined or ordered to be fasting dayes; and that the Apostles themselves observed those dayes, and laid the same joke upon all others; and tho* (saith he) *you look upon these as the only*

Habemus Quadragesimæ dies
jejuniis consecratos. Hom. 10.
in Levitic.

Illos dies jejuniis determina-
tos putant, in quibus ablatus
est Sponsus, &c. Tertul. adv.
Psychic.

only appointed dayes, whereon you are bound to fast, yet here I meet with you and urge against you, that ye Fast on other days too besides (or as it should be rendred, before) the Fast on Good Friday. He doth not tell us how many dayes they did observe, besides the two last dayes of Lent; because in those Times Christians did not all observe an equal number. And so Irenæus in his Letter to Victor, concerning that Controversie about keeping of Easter (which was even in Polycarps dayes, St. John's Scholar) tells him, that the dispute was not onely about Easter-day, but moreover about the Fast before it; for some thought themselves obliged to fast one day onely (viz. on Friday) others again did it two dayes (viz. on Saturday also) others kept more dayes. Thus far we are sure, and by these last words of Irenæus I conceive, that some Christians kept ten dayes in Lent, because Lucian scoffs at them for their Ten-dayes Fast; which might give occasion to Montanus to prescribe the like number, tho the Catholicks opposed him, because what was onely customary, and Arbitrary before, he would have turned into a Law, and made necessary, thereby ensnaring Mens Consciences. But 'tis observable, what Irenæus tells us yet further; that as some kept more than one or two dayes of this Paschal Fast; so others kept forty (for so Ruffinus, and others do understand him) and that this variety of observance was long before his Time, and that it was occasioned by the negligence, or the unskilfulness of some, who declined from the old Way, when 'twas delivered first. Now Irenæus was Polycarps familiar acquaintaince, and lived in the Age next to the Apostles. So that when he saith, that this variety in keeping Lent was long before his Time, we must conclude, that kept it was a long time before, and that he must needs point to the Times Apostolical; and that he intimates moreover, that the regular way of keeping it was, to observe forty dayes, as that which came nearest to the Apostolick Tradition. But this is clear, that this Solemn Time was very anciently observed, and very probably recommended by the Holy Apostles, as a very useful Fast (with respect to Persons and Places) and so indeed St. * Jerome, and other of the Ancients did look upon it, as an Apostolick Tradition; and considering its Antiquity and Universality

Convenio vos & præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies quibus ablati sunt Sponsus.

So the word citra is rendred by Dr. Beveredge, Cod. Can. Vindic. c. 3. lib. 6.

Euseb. lib. 5. c. 24. Hist. Eccl.

ἅλῆς δέκα ἡμέρας διαμνησκόμενοι. Lucian. in Philopat.

* Nos unam quadragesimam secundum Traditionem Apostolorum, toto anno, tempore nobis congruo jejunamus.

Hieron. ep. ad Marcel. Adv. Montanum.

we cannot well derive it from any *other* Fountain. And if any man desires a full account of this matter, he may read the Annotations of my *reverend Friend*, that *Learned Antiquary*, Dr. *Beveredge* upon the 69th. Apostolical Canon, where the observation of *Lent* is required; and his *Vindication* of the *Codex Canonum*, lib. 3.

4. Another custome we have (or at least, have *had*, and should have still) viz. to serve God publickly with *Fastings* and *Prayers* upon the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* of the whole year. And is there any Ecclesiastical usage, which has been more *Anciently*, and more *Universally* observed? The Primitive Christians considering, how the Redeemer of their Souls was on the *Wednesday* betrayed, and on the *Friday* murther'd, sequestred these dayes weekly to their solemn Devotion, spending the time in reading of the Scriptures, with *Prayers*, *Tears*, *Almsdeeds*, and *Fastings* from the beginning of the day till three in the afternoon. We find continual mention made of these dayes, by the *Greeks* under the Names of *τρεῖς*, *παρασκευή*, *παρασκευή*, the fourth day, the preparation, the day before the Sabbath (or, Saturday.) The Latine Fathers call them generally; the *Quarta* & *sexta Feria*, and *Tertullian* sometimes, *stationum Semi-jejunia*, the *stationary half-fasts*, because their abstinence at this time was not so long, as in *Lent*, and on other occasional days of humiliation, when they fasted until night. And *Epiphanius* tells us, that these dayes were constantly observed all the world over; and that the Original of this custome was owing to *Apostolick Tradition*. It is most likely, that it was so, if any Credit in the World may be given to Antiquity. But instead of disputing and quarrelling about that, it would be for the Interest of Religion, and for the great good of the World, if men would buckle in good earnest to that *Piety*, which is humble, grave, and serious, and not give occasion to the old fashioned Christians to tell them, that the cross-grain Spirit of *Aerius* hath undone all, and to upbraid them that their *Belly* is their God, and a *Kitckin* their Church.

5. As times of *Fasting*, so days of *Festivity* and joy were very Anciently kept by the Church; for they celebrated not only the weekly day of Christs *Resurrection*, but also the *Anniversary* day of *Easter*, and the day of the *Nativity*, and of the descent of the holy Ghost; and indeed all that course of fifty days from *Easter* to *Whit-*

Can. 15.

Const. Apost.
lib. 7. c. 22.

Wednesday
and Friday,

Tertul. de je-
junio.

Epiphan. lib. 3.
adv. Hær.
Hær. 77.
adv. Aerium.

Festivals.
V. Euseb. Eccl.
Hist. l. 5. c. 24.

Whitsunday. And not those onely, but moreover they *ho-* *Cur Pascha ce-*
noured those days whereon the *holy Martyrs* did suffer, *comme-* *lebramus an-*
morating their Lives and Sufferings, and offering up Thank- *nno circulo in*
givings to God for their *Faith, Constancy, and good Examples,* *mense primo?*
and calling the days of their Martyrdom their *Birth-days,* *cur quinqu-*
when they entred into Life Eternal. The Church of *Eng-* *ginta exinde*
land, in observing this custom, doth but follow the steps of the *diebus in omni*
Catholick Church of old. And in mine opinion, men do great- *exultatione de-*
ly wound the Protestant Cause, when they call this, and other *currimus?*
ancient Customs, by the names of *Popery* and *Superstition:* For *Tert. adv.*
they do the Church of *Rome* too much honour in calling things *Pfych.*
which are *ancient* and *Catholick,* *Popery.* We know that *Martyrum*
Popery is of a late and a base Extraction; and this hath abun- *Passiones &*
dantly been proved by *Church of England-men.* And how *Dies anniver-*
do the Dissenters *contradict us,* and *justifie* the Romanists, *saria comme-*
when they say, that this and that Observation (whatever is *moratione ce-*
laudable, ancient, and of *Catholick usage*) is *Popery!* Herein *lebramus. Cy-*
they *befriend* the Pope, and give *Arguments* and *Encourage-* *prian, ep. 34.*
ments to the *Papists,* more than perhaps they are aware of. *v. Pamelii*
in Ecclesiis celebratur secundum integrum ordinem Sanctorum, ut primorum Martyrum. Id. Hom. 3. in di-
versos, tom. 2. p. 282. Oblationes pro Natalitiis annua dii facimus. Tertull. de Cor. Mil.

6. We are required, in the time of *Sacred Ministrations,* to be clothed with a *white Vesture.* This, *forsooth,* giveth much *Surplice.* offence, and is a great *eye-sore* to some now: And yet for many *hundreds* of years before, it was not offensive, when men had very *good eyes,* and *Consciences* too that were very *tender,* but not *galled.* The old Fathers *startled* at the very name of *Perjury, Rebellion,* and *Dishonesty:* but they were not frightened at the sight of a *Surplice;* but lookt upon it as a *decent Habit,* and fit to be used in *Ministerial Offices,* because it did *resemble* those Robes wherein the *Angels,* those *Ministring Spirits,* were wont to appear. This is clear, that the custom of wearing a *white Garment* in time of *Divine-Service* (and especially at the Administration of the Sacrament) is as old as *St. Hierom* in the *Latin Churches,* and as *St. Chrysostom* in the *Greek;* (and that is 1300 years ago, and in the most *flourishing* times of the Church.) It may be much *older,* for ought we

O

know

S. Hieron.
Com. in Ezek.
44. & lib. 1.
adv. Pelag.
S. Chryf. Hom.
60. ad pop. An-
tioch. Clem.
Const. lib. 8.

know to the *contrary* : however, I am sure that there is more to be said for its *Antiquity*, than can with reason be pleaded against its *Use*.

Standing at
the Gospel.

7. Our *standing up* at the reading of the *Holy Gospel*, is an act *Expressive* of our great *Reverence* unto it, and *Significative* of our *Readiness* to *observe* and *obey* it. And questionless this Custom was *originally* derived from the *Jews*, as many other Christian Customs were: for at the reading of the *Law*, this *posture* was used by the *Congregation*. *Ezra opened the Book in the sight of all the people (for he was above all the people) and when he opened it, all the people stood up*, *Nehem. 8. 5.* Now seeing it was *more reasonable* for *Christians* to do Honour unto *Christ*, than for the *Jews* to do it unto *Moses*, it came to be an *universal* Custom (even from the *beginning*) to *stand up* at the hearing of our *Saviours Doctrine and Life*, and to *bless God* for it. So the *Apostolical Constitutions* require, *When the Gospel is read, let the Presbyters and Deacons, and all the people stand with all quietness: for it is written, Hear, O Israel, and keep silence.* And accordingly *St. Chrysostome* witnesseth, that when the *Deacon* opened the *Book of the Gospel*, and began to read, they all *stood up*, and cried, *Ἀλλὰ δόξα σοι κύριε* *Glory be to thee, O Lord.*

Durant. de
Rit. lib. 2. c. 23.
Constit. Apost.
lib. 2. c. 57.

S. Chrysost.
eis τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

Sureties.

8. It is order'd by our *Church*, that for persons to be *Baptiz'd* there shall be *Sureties*; whose Office it is to *call upon* them to *hear Sermons*, to *see them Catechiz'd*, and *vertuously brought up*. And surely by the *Laws* of our *Religion* every man is to be his *brothers Keeper*. And what these *Sureties* do *binde* themselves to by a *Particular* and *Personal Obligation*, every *Neighbour* is bound to by the *General Rule* of *Love*. In my opinion, among all the *Constitutions* of our *Church*, this is one of the most *Charitable* and most *Profitable* *Constitutions*, and that which thousands have been *beholding* to for their *Christian Education*: And were it only for the *Motherly Care* and *Tenderness* of our *Church* in this particular, she might well claim a *dutiful Observance* at the hands of all her *Children*; but that *St. Paul* tells it us (as a *Sign* and *Ingredient* of *perilous times*) that *in the last days* some great *Professors* of *Religion* would be *disobedient to Parents*, without
natural

2 Tim. 3

natural Affection, and unthankful. But in former Ages this Custom was justly accounted a good *security* to Religion: And we finde it not onely in the *Canon Universalis*, but even in *Tertullian* himself, who frequently mentions it. And so doth the pretended *Dionysius Areopagita*, and the Author of the *Questions and Answers* ascribed to *Justin Martyr*. And though it be acknowledged that those Books were *not* written by *those men*, yet none doubts but they are *ancient Records*. And 'tis as certain that this Custom is much *elder* than those *Authors*, whosoever they were: for it is confest, that it prevailed in the time of *Hyginus*, who was *Justin Martyr's* Co-temporary, and lived within sixty years after *S. John's* decease.

Habemus per benedictionem eosdem Arbitros fidei, quos & Sponsores salutis. Tert. de Bapt. Quid necesse est Sponsores etiam periculo ingeri, qui & ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possint? Id. ibid. Inde suscepti, &c. Id. de Cor. milit.

Plat. in vita Hygini. Magd. cent. 2. c. 6.

9. And so for *baptismal Interrogatories, and Stipulations, and Vows, of renouncing the Devil and all his works, &c.* they are so manifestly ancient by the joynt Consent of all the *most Primitive Writers*, that I dare say, They bear date from the *Apostles* times. And generally learned men do conceive, that *St. Peter* alludes to that Custom, *1 Pet. 3. 21.* where he calleth Baptism *inquitus*, the Answer, (or the Promise and Stipulation) of a good Conscience towards God.

Tertul. Cyril. Just. Mart. cum multis aliis.

V. Grotium in loc.

10. The repeating of *Psalms and Hymns by turns* (by Minister and People) is a very useful good course to keep peoples minds from *rambling*, and to imprint holy things in their memories. And this hath been customary in the *ancient Church*; though, as *St. Basil* tells us, there was ποικιλία τῆς ψαλμωδίας, variety in singing: For sometimes the Minister began one verse, and was seconded by the whole Congregation (as is the custom still in many of our *Parochial Churches*;) and sometimes the Quire was divided into two parts, which alternately answered each other from side to side (as 'tis usual in our *Colledges and Cathedrals*.) At the close of each Psalm or Hymn, they commonly had some *End-versicles* (called by *Philo*, ἀκροπλευρά, and in *Clements Constitutions*, ἀκροσίζα,) answerable to our *Gloria Patri*; and these were recited by turns too. Certain it is, that the people were ever wont to bear their part in praising and blessing God; which was one reason that

Antiphona.

Basil, Ep. 63. ad Cler. Neocæs.

De vitâ Con-templ. Const. lib. 2. c. 57.

Eccl. Hist.
l. 2. c. 17.

Eusebius took those *Therapeutæ* in *Egypt* for *Christians*, because among other *Christian Customs*, they had this. And if he was *mistaken* in his opinion, yet it argues that this was a *general custom* among *Christians* in *his time*. And so indeed *St. Basil* assures us, that it prevailed *universally* in the *Eastern Churches*. *Cassiodore* affirms, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* brought in the *Alternate singing* of *Psalms*. But this certainly is a *mistake*: for this was most usual long *before* their days.

Tripert. Hist.
l. 5. c. 32.

Socrat. l. 6. c. 8.

Trip. Hist.
l. 10. c. 9.

Socrates and others, fetch it as high as from the holy *Martyr Ignatius*, who was no less than an *Apostolical Bishop*; and this is yielded by *Cassiodore* himself *elsewhere*. But though *Ignatius* might have introduced this custom at *Antioch*, yet in probability 'twas *originally* borrowed of the *Jews*, and so *continued* among *Christians* from the *beginning*. This is evident, that *Pliny*, writing to the Emperour *Trajan* (in whose days *St. John* died) saith of the *Christians*, that *they were wont early in a morning to meet together* (which comes near to *St. Basil's* account) and to *sing Carmen Christo*, a *Hymn to Christ*, and that *secum invicem*, by course, by turns, or one after another.

Kneeling at
the Sacrament.

11. As concerning the *posture* of the *body* at the receiving of the *Holy Sacrament*, it is clear, that the *sitting posture* was *never* used, unless by the *Arrians*, who denied our *Saviour's Divinity*: All the *Catholicks* did receive with all *imaginable Reverence*; and in *St. Cyril's* time they did it in a *worshipping* and *adoring* gesture; the *Adoration* being directed to *God* and *Christ*, but *not* to the *Elements*.

Cyrl. Catech.
Myft. 5.

12. 'Tis customary with us (especially in *some places*) to read the *second Service* at the *Lords Table*: which some are pleased to look upon as a mighty piece of *Superstition*, though it be nothing else but an *innocent* usage, *conformable* to the *Practice* of the most *Primitive* times; which is still preserved not onely in the *Eastern* parts, but in the *Lutheran Churches* also. For, as *Mr. Mede* hath well observed, *this* was the *place* where the *Ancients* offered up all their *Prayers* unto *God*: and because the *Passion of Christ* is *commemorated*, and his *Death* represented there, they thought it the *most fit* and *proper* place for *Divine-Service*, and so were wont to *call upon God* at
the

Christian Sa-
crifice, cap. 5.
Ep. 56. to Dr.
Twisse: &
alibi.

the Altar, signifying hereby, that they offered up their Prayers *in the Name*, and *through the Merits* of their crucified Saviour. For the Readers further satisfaction, I shall refer him to the Observations of that learned man; and onely adde, That that Phrase in *Ignatius*, ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, *to be within the Altar*, is a plain allusion to this *Ancient* and *Primitive* custom, and signifies, *to joyn with the Bishop in those Ministrations which were performed, and in those Prayers which were offered up at the Altar.* And the like Phrase we finde in *Clements Constitutions*, where ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ὅς μυστηρίων, signifies, *to partake of holy My-* Const. l. 7. c. 41.
steries, ὅς αἱ ἁγίων μεταλαχέειν, as it is explained afterwards, *to communicate in holy Ordinances.*

In fine, whosoever will give himself the trouble to search, and will do us the right to speak impartially, he must needs confess, that those Constitutions of ours which are *established by Law*, and those Rites which are *preserved by Custom*, have had their Rise and Original from the best and most authentick Antiquity. I have instanced in several particulars; and a longer account might be given, if that would do our business effectually: But I hope what hath been already shewed, will satisfy all *indifferent* and *sober* persons, that our Church is free from all charge of *Superstition* and *Novelty*. I would to God she were as free from *danger* too; danger which is now threatned her, *not only* by those who *never were* in her bosom, but by those *also* to whom she, like an indulgent Mother, hath held out both her Breasts, and hath received nothing for all her Milk and Tendernefs, but a Stab.

And yet it is not too late to *heal* her wounds, if men would set heartily and soberly about it. But in my opinion, there is no Method likely to do it, but by taking Directions from *Antiquity*, and by observing the *Old way*, that *old* and *good* way wherein, God be blessed, Religion has hitherto flourished among us, and for which our Church is at this day the Envy of all *Impostors*, and the *Glory* of the whole *Christian* world.

For (that I may now close up my Argument) should we deviate and wander from the *Primitive Rule*, our Adversaries will have an *unanswerable* Plea against us, That our Religion is *not Catholick*, but a *Mushrome* of yesterday; and by that
pre-

pretence, they will never want fair *opportunities* of catching up Sheep that straggle from a *secure* Fold, and making a Prey of *all* by *degrees*. By what we have found *already* by sad *experience*, we may easily *foresee* what advantages they will take *hereafter*, should we *alter* our way. For how many thousand Souls have they ensnared by *this* pretence, That our *Religion is a new Device*? 'Twould be a *strong* Argument against us, were not the thing *false*. Now, if they have perverted so many by an *unjust Allegation*, what will the consequences be, should we do them the *kindness* to remove our *ancient* Land-marks; and make that an *evident Truth*, which hitherto has been nothing but a *groundless Reproach*? It may be thought a *probable* way to keep Popery out; but 'twill be a *sure* and *infallible* way to let it in upon us at the last: For, what have we ever yet gotten by *pulling down*, but *Faction*? and what are our *Factions*, but the *Kennels* of Jesuits, and Jesuited persons? We see in part *already*, and when the *mystery* of *Iniquity* comes *thoroughly* to be laid open, we shall see more *evidently* and *fully*, that 'tis by the several *sects* among us that the *Jesuite* gets into our *Bowels*, and hides, lurks, and shrouds himself *under them*: and men of common Reason will think, that 'tis but in vain to drive the Papist out at the *fore-gate*, if he be let in again at the *back-door*. But should our Church be *dismantled*, and Iniquitie be *established* by a *Law*, instead of *one Jesuit* we shall have an *hundred*; and in the end the wilde *Boar* will finde admittance, after so many little *Foxes*.

3. I see that I am now fallen upon the *third* and *last* part of my Task, *viz.* to shew how infinitely *mischievous* and *hurtful* the Practices of those have been already, who have *declined* from the *Old way*, to walk in Paths of their tracing out.

And this I shall do out of a *pure* and *sincere* designe to do the world *good*, and to serve *them* especially who are apt to go astray in the *simplicity* of their hearts, and have neither the *wisdom* to make a *stand* before they go too far, nor the *sagacity* to *foresee* whither they are going, nor the *skill* to *retrive* themselves, nor *eyes* to *finde out* the *right way*, nor perhaps any great *desire* to *revert* into the paths they have once *for-saken*,

saken, but walk with the Herd, *non quâ eundum est, sed qua itur* (as *Seneca* speaks) not where they should go, but where the *Multitude* goeth, not considering that, *Argumentum pessimi Turba est*, that course is many times the worst, which hath the most Voices, and is carried by the Poll.

We read of *Absalom*, 2 *Sam.* 15. that by traducing his Father the King, and his Ministers of Justice, he stole away the hearts of the men of *Israel*, and many followed him, and went with him in their simplicity, not knowing any thing of the Rebellion he intended, when he pretended to go to *Hebron* to pay his vows. And I am verily perswaded, that this is the case of many deluded wretches amongst us, who have been perswaded to go from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron* to worship, in the simplicity of their hearts, having been imposed upon by the popular and sly insinuations of some *Absaloms*, who designed to abuse their Credulity, and to use them as Instruments to promote their unworthy Ends, and secular Advantage.

To such I would address my self, beseeching them by the love of God, by the bowels of *Christ*, and by the regard we ought to have of our common Salvation, to take an Inventory of those sore Evils, which have been so hurtful to *Mankind*, so reproachful to *Religion*, and so prejudicial to our common Safety; and all of them occasioned principally by this one radical Evil, even mens stragling and deviating from the good old way.

First, It hath been one main thing that hath stopt the Current of Religion, and discouraged very many from entertaining the Truth, as it is in *Jesus*. And though some may make light of this Consideration now, yet in the Judgment of the Great day, when the Sins and Scandals of men shall be reckon'd unto them, it will be a sad and fearful Charge, that they have kept off so many Souls, for whom *Christ* died, from coming unto him. What multitudes and shoals of Infidels crouded into the Church in the Primitive times, when the Creed was entire, and the Worship of God was uniform, and the Way to Heaven was one and the same over all the World! 'Twas pleasant and safe drinking of the Waters of Life, when they ran in so fair a Channel. Religion has been at a great stand, since

since the Streams have been *divided*. Though Infidels of all Nations and Languages be disperſed up and down throughout *Chriſtendom*, yet how rarely do we hear of *one hearty* Proſelyte? No; inſtead of *admiring Chriſtianity*, ſuch as are aliens to the true Faith do rather *laugh* at our *follies*, that we invite *others* to go along with us, when we *our ſelves* are not *agreed* upon the way, but reſuſe to go with *one another*. Did we walk quietly together in the *old*, beaten, and ſtraight road, ſuch as have taken *false* ſteps, and wander in ignorance, might reaſonably be perſwaded to ſubmit to our Directions, becauſe where *Unity* is, a fair Argument may be uſed to perſwade men that *Truth* is to be found *there*. But when the *Turk*, or the *Jew*, or the blinde *Papiſt* perceives us to be at variance about the *main* thing, ſome contending for *one* way, and ſome for *another*, and every Party *condemning* all ways but his *own*, he finds that 'tis great odds, but he may erre ſtill, which ſide *ſoever* he takes; and thinks it much ſafer to commit himſelf to his *own* conduct, or to the management of a Guide that pretends to be *infallible*, than to truſt the Directions of men *divided* in their Judgments, who inſtead of *reſcuing*, may chance to *draw him on* into further *danger*. When *Averroës* ſaw the Romaniſts to *devour* that which they ſuppoſed to be their *God*, he ventured his Soul with the *old Philoſophers*, rather than he would embrace ſuch a *Savage Religion*. And when the *Indians* felt the barbarous uſages of the *Spaniards*, they loath'd the very *thoughts* of thoſe Celeſtial Manſions, whither they were invited to dwell with thoſe *Monſters* of Nature, who exerciſed the utmoſt *Cruelties* upon them *on Earth*, and yet pretended a deſigne of *ſaving* them from the *Torments* of *Hell*. And ſo, when *unbelieving* or *erroneous* perſons obſerve the *Fends* and *Diviſions* which are among us, they *abhor* that way which ſets men a *wrangling*, ſuppoſing that ſuch can never meet at their *Journeys end*, who take *different* and *contrary* courſes at their *ſtarting*. It is manifeſt, that thouſands have been diſcouraged upon this account from embracing the Truth; and I have *known* many who have plainly Apoſtatiz'd to the Impieties of the *Romaniſts*, having been *frightned* from all communion with us, by our *Domestiſtick jarrs*. 'Tis true, the

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Reason is very *incompetent* and *weak*, yet the Argument is *popular*, especially when 'tis managed by a *cunning hand*, and a *serpentine wit*. And 'tis a *Rule* among the *Jesuits*, That the *Dissentions* among Protestants do serve the *Interest* of the *Roman Cause*, upon this score among others, *because when things hang in Controversie and undecided among us, people will conclude, that we have nothing which is certain, and so will readily yield to that which they call Truth*. I wish that such as foment the unhappy *Divisions* in our Church, would lay this thing seriously to heart, and instead of foaming out *Invectives* against us and our *Establishments*, would sadly consider how *scandalous* their Practices are, and how many Souls by their means may be consigned to eternal *Ruine*, who might have arrived safely at the Gate of *Paradise*, had not they laid a *Stumbling-block of Iniquity* before them.

Dissensiones errantium alet, &c. Ita enim cum omnes intelligent certi nihil apud eos inveniri, facile veritati manus dabunt. Adam. Contzen. Politic. l. 2. c. 19. § 6.

2. Besides the intolerable mischiefs that have been occasioned *abroad*, vast prejudices have been caused at *home*, by the perverse deflexions of men from the good *old way*. For how many are there, who have been provoked hereby to turn aside either into *Schism*, or down-right *Atheism*? 1. That the sin of *Schism* woundeth the very *Vitals* of Religion, is obvious unto any that shall but consider how destructive it is of *Charity*, which is the *Life, Spirit, and Soul* of all. For it ever commenceth upon *Uncharitableness*, and it keepeth the flames (not of *Love*, but) of *Contention* alive, till it hath made a *Consumptive Sacrifice* of Charity, and reduced it into *Nothing*; thereby *annihilating* Religion, instead of *refining* it. Now it is manifest, that mens leaving the *old Paths*, hath been the *sole cause* of this great and *ominous Evil* among us: for every *new Sect* and Party is but an *Off-set* and *Branch* of the *first Separation*. As we say in *Logick*, that if but *one false Proposition* be granted, an hundred more will *naturally* follow; so we see in the *Church*, that when but *one Rupture* and *Schism* is made, that Faction is *prolifick*, and ingendreth a great *Brood*; which, though they are *unlike* to each other, and *quarrel* with each other, yet in this they all *resemble* their *first Parent*, that they *disown* and *hate* their *Mother*. Some moderate Dissenters did ingenuously acknowledge in the late

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times,

times, that upon the pulling down of our *Episcopal Government* (which they decried as *Antickristian*) more Sects and Heresies sprang up within the compass of *very few* years, than were ever known in this Kingdom before. 'Twas an *honest* Confession, and the thing is *true*; and yet all that *Fry* which troubleth our *Waters*, are but the *Spawn* of the *first* Innovators. Reckon on from the *Independants* to the *Ranters*, to the *Famili-ists*, to the *Quakers*, and the rest, and you shall finde, that they are so many *fresh Editions* of *Smectymnus*, *augmented* and *enlarged*; but whether *corrected* and *amended*, or *made worse*, impartial men may consider. As when you cast a *stone* into a *pool*, the water curls into a little circle, which in a moment *multiplieth* it self into several gyres that *propagate* themselves into more *still*, until all of them are *broken* upon the *bank*; so when you see a *Bone* of Strife thrown into a *Church*, whose *surface* was *calm* and *quiet* before, the *first* breach is not all, but the mischief *increaseth*, and another *Faction* makes its way through the *bowels* of the *former*, and *that* becomes the *Parent* of a *Third*; and there is no *end* of the Evil, till all Parties dash upon *Ruine*. 'Tis necessary therefore with all possible speed, to heal up the *breach* there, where our *Calamities* began; and now we see the sad *consequents* of Schism, to forsake the *sin* it self, and to return into the *old Paths*. For what shall we do in the *end*, but *fool* away our whole *Cause*, after the rate that we now go? it being impossible to hold out against an *Enemy long*, if men stand in *small companies* at a *distance*, and onely behold the valour of *that wing* which is *most* of all *beleaguer'd*. The more an *Interest* is *divided*, the more it is *weakened* ever. While we kept to our *Rule*, and held hand in hand together in the *Old way*, all the Attempts of the *Romanists* were *frustraneous*. Our *Quarrels* have served onely to give our *Adversaries* hope of *sweeping* the *Stakes* at last.

And yet this is not all: 2. For, there is *another monstrous* Evil, which oweth its Production to this swerving from the Ancient way; and that is, *Atheism*. Would a man think, that when the Gospel hath shined so *clear*, and so *long* among us, any such Creatures should be found, as should deny the *Being of an Omniscent God*, presiding over the world? or
 should

should affirm, that there is *no Hell* but what is created by mens foolish *fears* ? or should say, that the Scriptures are no better than a *Legend* ? or should argue *Vertue* and *Vice* to be empty *Names*, and that Good and Evil depends upon the *Arbitrary Constitutions* of *Men* ? Yet it is certain and notorious, that many parts of this Kingdom do *swarm* with these *Locusts* ; and whether you call them *Atheists* or *Hobbiſts*, it is indifferent to me (onely I fear, that many *Jesuits* go under that *guiſe*.) The thing is the ſadder, becauſe in *David's* time the *Atheiſt* was a *Fool*, and ſo accounted ; whereas the moſt avowed *Scepticks* among *us*, are thoſe, who pretend to *Wit* and *Learning*, and would be thought the onely *Maſters* of *Reason*, able to preſcribe *Forms* and *Laws* of *Government*. Now I confeſs many *Causes* have unluckily concurr'd to give Birth to theſe new and *unusual* Monſters ; but certainly the great *Diviſions* (which are cauſed originally by mens declining from the *Old Paths*) have had a very great hand in the *Midwivery* : For *Schiſms* in one Age, ſeldom but produce *Atheiſm* in the next ; and *differences* in Religion are apt to miniſter (eſpecially to men of *ſenſual minds*) a *welcome* occaſion to ſuſpect, that there is no ſuch thing as *Religion* at all. And I wiſh this *Suſpition* had not been *heightned* into a *poſitive Opinion*, by the unheard-of *Extravagancies* of ſome *Non-conformiſts*, who by their *empty Prate*, and *ſcenical Tricks*, and *lewd Compariſons* (which my Soul even dreads to *mention*) have gone a great way to turn *Religion* into a *Ridicule*, and a *loathſome* thing ; and thereby have done *huge ſervice* to the Church of *Rome*. But the *Innovations* and *Singularities* even of thoſe who are more *ſober* and *judicious* than the reſt, have ſtrongly prevailed with many to be *Neuters* in Religion : For while they behold one Party ſet againſt another, and loading each other with *Contumelies* and *Curses*, they are ready to conclude, that every *Seſt* cannot be in the *Right*, but yet that all may be in the *Wrong* ; and ſo they are willing (becauſe it is moſt conſiſtent with their *luſts*) to be of *no Party*, till the *Combatants* themſelves have diſputed out the *Quarrel* ; and when they finde that the ground of this eager Controverſie is about things which are confeſſedly *little*, they are ready to *miſtruſt* that

other things are little too, and in the end *deride* and make light of *All* things, though of the *greatest* moment.

I should be glad to be mistaken in this particular, and that any man were able to confute the truth of what I say. But the thing is manifest, that several who have been Members of *many* Sects, have in the end ript themselves from *All*, and upon tryal made of *every Profession*, have at last *abandoned* every *Religion*. And I wish that some who pretend to be the great *Healers* in *Sion*, would in time consider what account they will be able to give to the Great *Physician* of our Souls, for *intoxicating* the world when they undertook *new Ways* and *Methods* of *purging* it. For *this* is the *true* original of this sad Calamity, even mens love of *Novelty*, and of *new Experiments*. By making a false step at the *first*, men have run themselves and others upon Destruction; and there is no end of Error, when once they have forsaken the *Old Paths*, where alone is to be found *true Rest*, and *sure Footing*.

3. To these Considerations I shall adde *one more*, which I have reserved unto the last, because it is of very *seasonable* use, and may, perhaps, make a deeper impression than the rest; and it is this: That those *Innovations* and *Schisms* which have *defaced*, and almost *ruined* our Church, have been cunningly *contriv'd* (at least, *improv'd* and *kept on foot*) by the *Emissaries* of *Rome*, who hate nothing more than to see *Government*, and *Order*, and *Unity* amongst us. I do not *intend* (God knows, I do not *designe*) to *embitter* any Protestants heart, but onely to open mens eyes, and out of publick principles, and a deep sense of our *great* (and I fear, *growing*) Evils, to lay before them an important Truth, and to recommend it to their Consciences, desiring that it may be *taken* with the same hand of *Charity* wherewith it is offered.

When I behold the sad *Divisions* in our Church, I must say as he did, when he saw the *Tares* in the *field*, Mat. 13. 28. *An enemy hath done this*: The Enemy, that *implacable* and *formidable* Enemy, whose *dark* and *hellish* *Designes* we are now searching into; 'tis he that hath craftily *sown*, and industriously *cherisht* our *Dissentions*, that in the end he may make a *Prey* of our *Enclosure* and us too. It is a piece of *State-policy*,

policy, which has been used by some *Princes*, when they have intended to *invade* a neighbouring *Kingdom*, to *divide* it first. And the *Jesuits* have made this a main piece of their *Ecclesiastical Policy* too: Those trusty Disciples of that grand *Hypocrite* and *Enthusiast*, *Ignatius Loiola*, have all along made use of this *effectual Stratagem*; but especially here among *us*, whom they have most grossly *abus'd*, by creating *heats* in our *Bowels*, by filling men with *Jealousies* and *Discontents*, by insinuating *evil Principles* into them, and by teaching them to *clamour* against our *Government* as *tyrannical*, and against our *Liturgie* as *superstitious*, and to throw out bitter *Invectives* against *Popery*; when indeed *Tyranny*, and *Popery*, and *Superstition*, are the very things which they themselves would fain *introduce*, and *introduce* them by *our hands*; and all this while they themselves stand behinde the *Curtain* and *laugh* in their *sleeve*, to see how *dextrously* and *prosperously* their designe is carried on by *unwary* and *credulous Instruments*. Contzen the Jesuit, in his Book of *Politicks* (for that is their *main Study*) laying down several ways whereby they may *reduce* a Nation to their pretended *Catholick Faith*, prescribeth this way for one, to foment a Kingdoms Divisions, and to make use of them so as to blow the Goals: For (saith he) *who could not easily bring the Puritans in England into Order, that can but prevail with them to approve of Bishops?* Any man that pleaseth may consult the place; and if he will but *consider* this *Jesuit's* words, he must confess, that the *subtle Papists* know, that our *Episcopal Government* is a strong *Barricado* against *Popery*, and that if our *Dissenters* would but once be perswaded to *submit* to *that Government*, it would be *impossible* for them to bring our Nation under the Yoke of *Bondage*: And therefore *here* they employ all their *Art* and *Skill*, to enflame mens hearts against our *Bishops*, and to prompt them on to *oppose* *Episcopacy* with all *might* and *main*, and if it be possible, to pull it *down*. And by this we may perceive whence all our *Non-conformity*, and *clamour* against our *pious*, *learned*, and *excellent Bishops*, doth *originally* come. I am bound in charity to think (and I do verily think) that those our dissenting Brethren, who are really Protestants, do not believe, or (perhaps) *mis-trust*,

*Sexta Ratio
abolendi Erro-
ris est, in rem
suam vertere
lites errantium.
Quis enim non
facile Purita-
nos in Anglia
redigat in or-
dinem, si Epis-
coporum appro-
bationem ab il-
lis extorqueat?*
Contzen, Po-
litic. l. 2. c. 18.
§ 9.

See the Grand
Design.

struſt, that they are *aſſed* by the *Jefuits*. But 'tis clear to me, and I hope to all *indifferent* perſons, that the *Jefuits* have foully *infected* many *Seſtaries* among us with their *Poyſon*, and have made uſe of many *Hot-fpirits* among us, as their *Tools* and *Hands* to work ſuch things for them, which they themſelves could not *attempt* with a *bare* and *open* face. There is a very memorable Paſſage in Arch-biſhop *Land's* Speech upon the Scaffold: (thither he was brought as a Favourer of *Popery*; though it appears by the Letters of Sir *William Boſwel*, and *Andreas ab Habernfield*, that the *Papiſts* *themſelves* deſigned his *Ruine*, and brought him to the Block by their under-hand contrivances; but before the blow was given, he uſed theſe words, among others, to the people:) " You know what the " *Phariſees* ſaid againſt *Chriſt* himſelf in the 11th of *St. John*, " If we let him alone, all men will believe on him, & *venient* " *Romani*, and the *Romans* will come and take away both our " Place and Nation. Here was a cauſeleſs cry againſt *Chriſt*, that " the *Romans* would come; and ſee how juſt the Judgment of " God was upon them: they crucified *Chriſt* for fear leſt the " *Romans ſhould* come; and his death was that which brought " the *Romans* in upon them, God puniſhing them with that w^{ch} " they moſt *feared*. And I pray God (ſaid he) that this Cla- " mour of *venient Romani* (of which I have given to my know- " ledge no juſt cauſe) help not to bring the *Romans* in *here* too; " for the *Pope* never had ſuch an *Harveſt* in *England* ſince the " *Reformation*, as he hath now among the *ſeſts* and *Diviſions* " that are among us. Thus he ſpoke above thirty four years ago. And not he onely, but many *other ſagacious* and *wiſe* men, when once they ſaw *Faction* to grow *bold* and *ſturdy*, did greatly fear, that the *Proteſtant* Intereſt would be ſadly wounded by it; and did, as it were by a *Prophetick Spirit*, tell us to this purpoſe; That if ever *Popery* did return into this Nation, it ought to be laid chiefly at the *Schiſmaticks* door.

See a Piece en-
tituled Fair
Warning,
part 2.

I know, it will not boot us much to charge one another now, when we have *all* great reaſon to be *humbled* for our ſins: But yet, it may not be unuſeful for us to obſerve how the *Romanist* hath abuſed many ſilly and head-strong people among
us,

us, making them his *Machines* and *Instruments* to shore up his tottering Cause, and to keep it from sinking utterly. And this he hath done by *two* several ways.

I. By poisoning them with such *Principles* as are either the same with his own, or much bordering upon them, and very like unto them. Amidst that variety of strange Opinions which hath prevailed here, since men were so imprudent as to forsake the *Old* way, we may finde many which are very near of *Kin* to those, that are directly *Popish* Tenents, nay, which have been the main *Pillars* to support the *Popish Interest*. So that by the *Tares*, we know what the *hand* was which scattered the *Seed*; and by the *Doctrines*, we may perceive who was the *Author* and *Father* of them: and I dare say, if we search narrowly into each *Sett*, we may plainly discern the print of the *Cloven-foot*, and easily perceive that the *Jesuit* hath been there. To make this good, I shall (omitting many particulars of lesser moment which might be instanced in) take notice of the most material points, and such chiefly as strike at the very Heart of *Government*, and which are accounted properly and strictly *Jesuitical Tenents*, because the *Jesuits* were the *first* (though not the *last*) that had the confidence to defend them.

See Lyfim.
Nicanor.

It has been generally taught by our *Sectaries* (and I take notice of it the rather, because this *seditions, antimonarchical, and cursed Doctrine* is now strangely revived) that the power which *Princes* have, is derived to them by the *People*; that *Kings, Princes, and Governours*, have their *Authority* from their *People*; that the *People* are better than the *King*, and of greater *Authority*; that the *People* have right to dispose of the *Government* at their pleasure; that the *People* have the same power over the *King*, that the *King* himself hath over any one of his *Subjects*; that the power of making *Laws* belongeth unto the *People*; that the *King* is but the *Peoples* *Trustee*, and like a *Master of the Rolls*, accountable to his *Masters* for his *Trust*; and that the *People* may (upon occasion) remove him out of his *Trust* and *Authority*, even as men may lawfully recal their *Proxies* and *Letters of Attorney*. This monstrous *Doctrine* did cost the best of *Kings* his *Head*, and the whole *Nation* its *Peace*: and 'tis perfectly a *Jesuitical Principle*. For so Bel-

Buchanan,
Goodman,
Gilby, Good-
win, Bridges,
Rutherford,
and a world
more.

larmine,

Bellarmin. de
Laicis, c. 6.

Azor. Instit.
Moral. Pars 2.
l. 11. c. 4.

Dr. Owen a-
gainst Dr.
Parker.

p. 90.

p. 161.

larmine, and *Azorius*, and several more of that Grew, have asserted, That all political power is in the Multitude, as in its proper Seat and Subject, and that by Divine Right; that the Multitude being not able to exercise their power themselves, do transfer it upon some one, or more; that it dependeth upon the consent and courtesie of the Multitude, that there be either a King or Consuls, or other Magistrates over them; and that if there be cause, the Multitude may change the Government, and turn a Monarchy into an Aristocracy, or Democracy, as they please. The Reason is given by the great *Azorius*; because, forsooth, though the People do transfer their power, and give it to the King, yet they do not devest themselves wholly of it, but do retain it habitually themselves, and in certain cases may actually take it from him again, and give it to the next of Kin, or to any else. Any man may see whither this Doctrine tendeth, even to the subversion of Government, and especially of Monarchy, which is equally unease both to the Jesuite and the Schismatick. Now Father *Watson* in his *Quodlibets*, jirks the Jesuits for borrowing their Principles of the Scotch Fanaticks; and others are of opinion, that the Fanaticks borrowed it of the Jesuits. Let such as are concerned, dispute this out; but this is clear, that either they infected these, or these have infected them: for this is their common Principle; a Principle which was never known among Christians till these latter days, since Hell hath broke loose.

Again, it is still maintain'd (and by no mean person in vulgar esteem) That the Civil Magistrate hath nothing to do to enjoin any thing relating to Gods Worship, which God himself hath not required; and that the Conscience is not bound to observe such Injunctions: That though subjection be due unto the Magistrate in things of his proper Cognizance, that is, in all things necessary to publick Peace and Tranquillity in this world: though it be the duty of the supream Magistrate to encourage the professors of Religion, to protect them from wrong and violence, and to secure them in the performance of their duties; yet the Church and its Religion, and the Worship of God observed therein, is constituted, fixed, and regulated by God himself, antecedently to the Magistrates duty and power about

it :

it: so that the Administration of things meerly spiritual in the Worship of God, is derived immediately from him to the Ministers and Administrators of the Gospel; and that the things of the Gospel, and the Worship of God, are plainly exempted from the Temporal jurisdiction and punishment of earthly Princes, insomuch that they have no power over the Consciences of men, so as to lay their Commands upon them in these spiritual things, or to back them with temporal, corporal restraints and punishments. This is the Principle defended by that Doctor; and 'tis likely that he was confirmed in it when his Acquaintance Father Whitebread was at Oxford: for 'tis perfect Jesuitism, and a piece of Politick Divinity which has done as much service to the Church of Rome, as any other Principle whatsoever. For, how came they by that Absolute and Arbitrary Power, which they have over mens Consciences, but by shaking off the Authority, and clipping the Prerogatives of the Civil Magistrates? The Jesuits would not have that Empire and unlimited Dominion in the world, did Princes interpose, and restrain their Exorbitances. Therefore this they contend for with all their might, That Kings indeed are and ought to be the Patrons and Protectors of Religion, to defend the Church, to punish Blasphemy, Sacrilege, Hereſie, &c. but yet that the Government of the Church, or the Cognizance of Church-matters, belongeth not to them; no, they have no judgement in Ecclesiastical Affairs, saith Bellarmine (even as Dr. Owen and others say) because Civil Peace and Tranquillity is the proper Object of the Magistrates care: Divine things are not subject to his Power; it belongeth to Ministers, not to the Secular Power, to meddle with matters in the Church; for the Emperour himself is but a Laick, and Lay-men have nothing to do in things Sacred, saith Azorius, agreeably to what Sectaries do say; and he that will be fully satisfied of the harmony between the Jesuits and them in this particular, let him read the Survey of the pretended holy Discipline, chap. 22, 23, 24. there it may be seen at large, how these good Wits jump.

P. 164.

P. 170.

Bellarmin. de Rom. Pontif. l. 1. c. 7.

Azor. Inst. Moral. pars 2. l. 10. c. 7.

Thirdly, it has been asserted (not by Episcopal, but by the Classical Divines) That the Presbyters (having Power in their hands)

Survey, p. 267. Presbyt. displayed, p. 19.

Bellarmin. de
Rom. Pontif.
l. 5. c. 7. in fine.

hands) may make Decrees, and that the Prince ought to confirm those Decrees (though against his own Conscience) and see them executed: otherwise he is censurable, and to be forced to do it. And even thus saith the Jesuit Bellarmine, That Kings are bound to serve God, by defending the Church, by punishing Hereticks and Schismatics, (and so far he is right.) But moreover he tells us, That the Church may, and is obliged to command Kings to do their office; and if they are negligent, to compel and force them to it by Excommunication, and other convenient ways. What an unluckie thing it is, that our zealous Reformers should be thus Jesuited! for 'tis but altering Names, and instead of the Pope and his Cardinals, to put in the Presbyterian and his Lay-Elders, and the Doctrine is the very same.

Bellarmin. ubi
supra.

Inst. Moral.
pars 2. l. II.

4. It needeth no proof, that some pretended Protestants have counted it both lawful and just, to bring their King to publick Tryal and Judgment. But as no President can be anywhere found for that Practice (unless you will instance in our Saviour) so no warrant can be fetcht for that Doctrine, but out of the Writings of the Jesuits. So indeed Bellarmine affirms, That Kings and Princes, being Hereticks and Opposers of Religion, may be arraigned and judged by the Church; and that the Church can exercise a coercive power over the Civil Magistrate by any ways and methods that shall seem necessary. And the like is argued by Azorius; onely he is so kind to Princes as to grant, that though among the Ethnicks the people have power to take Cognizance of their Kings faults, and to judge them when they are notorious (either by evidence of Fact, or by his own Confession in Court) yet the King hath this priviledge (and a huge great one it is) to be heard before he be condemned, and to make his Exceptions in order to his defence. But, saith he, in a Christian State the people have not power to try their Sovereign without instructions and leave obtained first from the Pope, who is to judge of his Crimes whether they be such as render the King obnoxious. Now all this is agreeable to the Principles both of the Jesuits and the Kirk-men, and the rest of that Clan, viz. that the King is onely a Son of the Church, notwithstanding his Kingship; that their power is of Divine Institution,

tion, whereas the Kings authority is onely by compact with the people; and so, much inferiour to theirs, being onely Fiduciary; and upon that score he may be brought to account, and tryed; and every worthy man in Parliament may, for the publick good, be thought a fit Peer, and Judge of the King, saith Milton. This puts me in mind what Mr. Oates hath discovered of that great Oracle, Mr. Milton; namely, that he was a member of a Popish Clubb. The thing is credible enough, that he was a Jesuit in disguise. But this is manifest, that they were Jesuitical Doctrines which in 48 did pass in the Pulpits for Divinity, and in Westminster-hall for Law; and that the infamous Court of Justice did consist of men, who were the Sons of the Jesuit, who was the Son of the Devil.

Tenure of
Kings, p. 24.

5. Further yet; it is so notorious, that it needeth not proof, that our rigid Sectaries have held it lawful, not onely not to obey wicked Kings (whom they call wicked) but also to resist them, to take arms against them, to have no further regard to them than if they were the most simple Subjects within their Realms, to excommunicate them, to depose them, to un-King them, to take their Crowns and Thrones from them, and to banish or imprison them: for, according to Buchanan and his whole Tribe, the band being broken between the People and the King, he loseth all his power and authority which he had by compact from the people. This is Jesuitism with a witness, or else we have been unjust in charging this Doctrine upon the Jesuits. Kings and Princes may be deposed (saith Bel-larmine) and no injury is done unto them, if they be deposed: And he urgeth the Example of Uzzah, 2 Chron. 26. and 'tis observable, that Mr. Knox himself urged the very same Example, to let the world see how handsomely he and his Brethren went hand in hand with the Jesuits in this point also: And it must not be omitted; that Buchanan defending the same Principle, fetcheth many precedents from the continual Practice of the Scots, who did depose their Kings, just as the great Cardinal fetcheth many precedents from the continual Practice of the Popes, who deposed Emperours: though an honest man will say, Quot Exempli, tot flagitia, look how many Examples of this nature may be found, so many horrid sins

Buchanan,
Gilby, Good-
man.

De jure regni.

De Rom. Pont.
l. 5. c. 8.

Hist. of the
Reform. p. 391.

Azor. *Instit.*
pars 2. l. 10.
c. 8.

Lib. 11. c. 5.

De jure regni,
pag. 53.

have been committed on both sides. *Azorius* is as positive as can be in this matter ; and tells us, That *though Bartolus and others were of opinion that it belonged to the People to depose Princes, yet rather 'twas to be said, that it is the Popes business.* However, he doth insist upon it, that the thing may be done, and done justly ; when a Prince is either forsworn, or sacrilegious, or persecutes the Church, or disturbs the peace of Christians, or is an Heretick or Schismatick, or is a favourer or a defender of Hereticks and Schismaticks ; then, saith he, that Prince must down : and if you read Histories, you will finde, that it has been a common thing for Kings to be dethroned. And he instanceth in the Scots (that have been Rebels and Traytors from the beginning) *In uno Scotia regno multos Reges legimus Nobilium & Populi communi consensu, è regno pulsos ;* that is, In that one Kingdom of Scotland we read of many Kings, whose Crowns have been pulled off their heads by the Nobles and Commonalty : Ergo, the thing is very lawful. And truly this is *Buchanan's own Argument ; Possum annumerare duodecem, aut etiam amplius, Reges, &c.* I could, says he, reckon up twelve Kings of Scotland, or more, who have been either imprisoned, or banisht, or slain out-right (by their Subjects) for their Crimes Truly, 'tis a fine Honour for that Nation : and though it be a most pitiful and scandalous Argument, yet 'tis remarkable how these two men did jump in their way of arguing ; there is such an *Harmonia Evangelica*, such a sweet Harmony between these two great Evangelists, that it may be questioned whether *Buchanan* was not a Jesuit, or *Azorius* a Presbyterian.

6. The King-killing Doctrine is justly laid at the Jesuits door, for 'tis his own dear Brat ; onely some have modestly doubted, whether a Prince, who is counted a Tyrant, may be executed by any private hand, till he has been heard and condemned by the judicial Sentence of the Nation. But never let this Doctrine be laid at the Jesuits door onely : For hath it not been held, hath it not been put in practice by many pretended Anti-papists in this Island ? Give me *Buchanan* for my money, who scorns to mince the matter as others do (till they have the Power in their hands ;) for, speaking of Tyrants (and any

any Prince that pleaseth not *them*, (shall be esteem'd a Tyrant) If I, saith he, were to make a Law, I would have such men carried away into Deserts, or drowned in the Sea; and I would have such as kill them to be lustily rewarded, (not by single men, but by the whole Commonwealth;) even as they are publickly rewarded that kill Wolves, or Bears, or take their Whelps. There's a man to be a Prince's Tutor: but the Jesuits were his Tutors first. For what brave fellows were Clement and Ravaiillac in their estimation? and had they liv'd, would have been made Cardinals. For what is more meritorious with them, than to dispatch a King that is their Enemy? Did not Ehud kill King Eglon? saith Aquinas. Did not the Captains kill Queen Athalia? saith Bellarmine. Yes surely, they did; but these instances do not reach the Case. However, some King-killing Protestants have urged these very Examples, which were urged by the King-killing Romanists; and by this we may know what hands they were which cut off K. Charles's head, and by whom they were influenced and set on work. De Jure Reg. See Dang. Post. B.2. c.1.

7. But how will men answer God for these horrid Villanies? Doth not our Saviour say, Resist not evil? Doth not St. Paul say, He that resisteth, shall receive to himself damnation? And did not the good old Christians in the Primitive times quietly submit to the Emperours, though they were Infidels, Hereticks, Persecutors? O, saith Buchanan, and his Loyal Brethren of the new cut, you must consider the condition of those times; the Church then was in its Infancy, and Christians were low in Fortunes, and few in number, and void of Arms (yet the ancient Fathers tell us the contrary) and therefore 'twas necessary for St. Paul to advise them to be quiet; as if, saith he, one should now write to the poor Christians under the Turk, he would advise them to be quiet, because they cannot help it (though the Apostle said, Ye must needs be subject, not onely for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake:.) But, saith Buchanan, if St. Paul lived now in these times, he would say otherwise. From this shift the Magistrate may observe how dangerous it is to indulge men of these Principles, till they grow numerous, strong, opulent, and heady (for then Conscience will hang at the hilts of their Swords:.) but that which

De Rom. Pont.
l. 5. c. 7.

Quodlibet 9.
Art. 4.

Ubi sup.

Solemn League
and Covenant,
Art. 3.

which I observe is, that this *Evasion* is down-right *Jesuitism*. So Cardinal *Bellarmino* affirm'd, That *the reason why Christians did not depose Nero, or Diocletian, or Julian, or Valens, and the like wicked Emperours, was, quia deerant vires Temporales Christianis, because they wanted strength.* And the same *Evasion Parsons* the Jesuit used in *Q. Elizabeth's* days; but 'twas such a pitiful *Evasion*, that *Father Watson*, who then hated the Jesuits, was *asham'd* of it, and did largely confute it.

I might take notice of several *more* Principles yet, which have been entertain'd by our *Sectaries*, and as like unto *Jesuitical* Principles as *one Apple* is like *another*. As, that (when they please) they can *dispense* with *Oaths*, though never so *lawful*, and *lawfully impos'd*, such as the *Oath of Allegiance, Supremacy, Canonical Obedience, &c.* these have been *swallowed*, and gone down *glib*, when an *unlawful Oath* (like a *Jesuits Vow*) *sticks*, and is ready to *choak* them. Likewise, that they make *Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrate* due, with certain *limitations* and *conditions*; viz. *If he stick to that Religion which they suppose to be true.* This is a *Jesuitical* Principle; and so *Bellarmino* tells us, That *Princes* are *received into the Church upon an Express, or tacit Compact, that they will submit their Scepters unto Christ, and defend and preserve the Faith; but if once they warp, their Subjects are free from their Oaths of Obedience.* Exactly answerable hereunto was the *Tenor* of the *Scotch Covenant*; wherein they swore, to *preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority*, not absolutely, but with this *limitation* and *restriction*, *in the preservation and defence* (they are *Bellarmino's* very words) *of the true Religion.* Let a *Prince* please them, and he shall be their *King*; and so far the *rankest Jesuit* will be a good *Subject*; but if he be not of *their Opinion*, or for their *Interest*, farewel *Loyalty*, and let the *poor Prince* look to himself. Moreover, they thought (as the *Jesuits* do) that any *Arts of Dissimulation and Equivocation* were *lawful*. Of which the *late times* have afforded us so many *pregnant Instances*, that for twenty years together, *Hypocrisie* seem'd (God be merciful unto us!) to have *ran* through all *proceedings*,

ceedings, like an *Anima Mundi*, to give life and spirit to every Action. But I cannot well omit one very memorable Instance, when the *House of Commons* did solemnly declare on April 9. 1642. That they intended onely a due and necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgie of the Church; and to take away nothing in the one or the other, but what was evil and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome. Let the world judge whether this was not a plain *Equivocation*. But it seems, what in a Jesuit is unlawful, that in others hath been allowable and sanctified.

I have not made these Remarks, as if I did believe that all our former Non-conformists were Jesuits; God forbid: but I fear that great numbers of them were Jesuited, and they knew it not, at least did not consider it. And I do heartily wish, that our present Non-conformists (among whom I doubt not but there are many well-meaning persons) would for the Protestant Religion sake, at last consider by what base fellows they are abus'd, influenced, and made use of, to weaken us by our sad Divisions. I would not therefore be uncharitably and unjustly censured, as if I designed to upbraid and render them odious: No, that was not my purpose or intention. But what I have said hitherto was to shew, how crafty and cunning the Jesuit has been for many years, to take advantage of mens discontents, and to infuse such Principles into them as are not very distant from their own; and all this under a disguise, and pretending to be Protestants, when indeed they were utter Enemies to Protestancy, and intended by degrees to extirpate it, though (according to Contzen's directions) they dissimulated their purpose, and seemed to row a quite contrary way. I think there is no reason to doubt, but that several Jesuits and other Romanists have been preaching, and infecting unwary people in separate Meetings (and especially those which are most properly called Fanatical, as the Anabaptists, Quakers, Muggletonians, and the rest.) And therefore I cease to wonder, that of our vulgar sort of people who have lately been seduced to the Church of Rome, most are such as were seduced from the Church of England before. 'Twas no hard matter for subtile Impostors to poison those throughly, whom they had

Disimulet propositum extirpandæ Hæresis, Contz. Pol. l.2. c.18. § 6.

in.

infected already; and of *borderers* to make them *Profelytes*, and to draw them gradually out of *one* extream into *another*. There is an honest man in the world (whose *name* and *book* I shall purposely *conceal*) who tells us of one Father *Brown* a *Jesuit*, that he boasted on his death-bed at *Ingeston-briggs* in *Scotland*, that he had preached as down-right *Popery* in the *Field-Conventicles*, as ever he had preached at *Rome*. Many Instances of that nature might be collected, but that the thing is *unquestionable*. Now why may we not believe that the *same* tricks have been played at *House-Conventicles* in *England* too? Have not the *Whitebreads* and *Fenwicks*, and *Gawens*, been as industrious *here*, as *Brown* and many others have been in *Scotland*? How many are there who have *known* and *conversed* with *Romish* Priests *abroad*, whom afterwards they have found *here* up and down in *Conventicles*, *preaching* and *scolding* at *Popery*, to wipe off all suspicion from *themselves*, and to curry *favour* with the *silly* people? Alas, some that call the Church of *Rome*, *Whore*, have been of the *same Trade*: and 'tis in this case, as it was with that worthy Gentleman Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, when he was murder'd, *two* Papists scuffled together; but 'twas only a *pretended* skirmish, designed to *draw in* the Protestant. They followed each other with *innocent* Cuffs and *hurtless* Blows, and the *Justice* was call'd in to end the *Fray*; and as soon as he was come, the Combatants having obtain'd their designe, parted of *themselves*, fell foul upon the Magistrate, and strangled him. 'Tis too notorious, that the *Jesuits* have play'd such Pranks at *Conventicles* in the *Savoy*, in *Moor fields*, and in a world of places more; they cry out against *Superstition* and *Popery*, and give the Papists *gentle blows* and *dry drubs* without any *Arguments*; but all this while the Quarrel is but a *counterfeit*, and the *real* designe is against the *Church of England*; and if by any wiles they can but ensnare and ruine *her* (which is their *great and formidable Enemy*) the Combate will soon be at an *end*, and the *politick* Antagonists will soon agree. 'Tis a main piece of *Jesuitical Policy*, and we may count it their *sole Master-piece*, to create *Divisions* among us, and then to make every little *Seet* an *Harbour* and *Covert* for themselves.

This

This way they employ their utmost dexterity (but were we all true to the *Old Paths*, their designs would easily be defeated) first to *form*, and then to *animate* Factions, by setting up such *new Lights* among us which serve not to *illuminate*, but to *inflame*. They skrew themselves into all (even *Mechanical*) Professions; and by canting words and fair speeches insinuate themselves into all *Parties*, and transform themselves into all *shapes* and *dressses*; that what the Poets feigned of a *Proteus* and an *Empusa*, is true of these *Hobgoblins* of darkness, that they put on any *colour*, *form*, and *likeness*; so that you have no way to discover the *Serpent*, but by his *poyson*, nor the *Wolf*, but by his *ravenous stomach*.

But of *all* the *Sects* which are among us, undoubtedly the *Quakers* have been and are most *eminently* serviceable to our *common* Adversary: for *their Principles* are such as could not come out of any *other* Mint but the *Jesuits*. 'Tis not very long ago since one Father *Talbot* ingenuously told a Friend of mine, That it had cost them Twenty years study at *St. Omers*, before they could bring *Quakerism* to its *perfection*. And truly no Opinions can more resemble *theirs*, than those which are held by that *crafty* and *perverse* Sect. Do they not think themselves as *infallible* as any *Romanist* thinketh the *Pope* himself to be? and do they not say, that one reason why they *divide* from *us*, is because we confess our selves to be men *subject* unto Errour? Do they not *lower* the Magistrates *Authority* (as the *Jesuits* do) and by all imaginable methods endeavour to render him *contemptible*? Do they not *vilise* the *Holy Scriptures* (as the *Jesuits* do) and call the Bible a *Dead Letter*? Do they not cry up *the Light*, *the Light*, just as the *Jesuits* cry up *Tradition*, *Tradition*? Do they not think themselves to be the *only* people of God (as the *Jesuits* think their Faction to be) and count all *others*, who are not of *their* Communion, to be *Reprobates* and *damned* persons? Do they not take it for granted, that they are *perfect*, and *cannot sin*? Why, do but turn the Tables, and behold this is *Jesuitism*, upon which they build the Doctrine of *meritorious* good Works; for where there is no *Perfection*, there can be no *Merit*. But the most *luckie* and *advantageous* Principle that

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was

was ever infus'd into them, is this: That they must not by any means *swear*, though *called* unto it by due *Authority*. The *Jesuit* was no *fool*, when he taught them this: for hereby he keeps out of *harms-way*, and *shelters* himself from a *necessity* of taking any Oaths of *Supremacy* or *Allegiance*. This Principle therefore they do *errantly* guard, and make many *Proposals*, that they may be allowed *this*; and as long as 'tis *allowed*, 'twill be impossible to hunt our Enemies out of the Herd, or to *distinguish* indeed between a *Quaker* and a *Jesuit*.

By this any unprejudiced man may see, that this *sullen* and *dogged* Sect is the *Jesuits* *natural* and *undoubted* Issue, though like other *Bastards* they are *asham'd* to own their *Father*. And we have reason to believe, that there is not a considerable *Quakers-meeting* throughout this Kingdom, but what is managed by some *Jesuit*. 'Tis plain, that *many* besides *White-bread* and *Gawen*, have been *known* among them; and 'tis much to be *suspected*, that those *Ring-leading* and *Head-Quakers*, who are now so much in *Vogue*, & who have *lately* written so many *Advices to the Nation*, and other *scurrilous Pamphlets*, are really *Jesuits* in another *shape*. The Roman Cause is now brought to its *last* push here; and therefore the *Sticklers* for it will have a finger in every *Pye*: and if by any means they can but *subvert* our *Government*, they doubt not but their Work is done. Therefore, what they cannot effect by a *Gun*, or by a *Stab*, or by *Poyson*, they try if they can bring it about by *other* ways, by being for men of *large Principles*, by *reproaching* *Government*, by *defaming* *Royalists* and *Church-men*, by setting *Republican* Principles on foot, by throwing *Bones* into *Councils*, and by all imaginable *Jesuitical* tricks, to put the *Nation* into an *Hurly-burly*, that if a *Tempest* can but be raised, they may ply us with more *security*, and work their *ends* without being *seen*.

2. Having thus shew'd the *Mischiefs* we have sustain'd by mens running away so rashly from that *Old* way which is established in our Church; and how the busie *Emissaries* of *Rome* have taken *advantage* of their wandrings to *associate* with them, and to *poyson* their Consciences with most evil *Principles*,

ciples, and to abuse them in points of *Doctrin*; I shall now proceed to observe briefly how they have abused them and us too in point of *practice*, making them their *Tools* and *Instruments* to carry their designs on. Certainly our *disaffected* Brethren are strangely *Priest-ridden*, though they do not *think* it: and I am confident, that they never yet did *burn* their *fingers*, but 'twas the *Jesuit* that did put their *hands* (as the *Monkey* did the *Cats foot*) into the *fire*.

Was there an *unnatural War* among us? It was raised by the *Artifices* of Cardinal *Barbarino* and the *Jesuits*, pursuant to those directions which had been given by *Mariana*, that if a *Prince* was *incorrigible*, *subjection* to him should be *disclaim'd*, and a *War* should be *raised*, and *Arms* should be *provided*, and *Taxes* should be *levy'd* upon the *people*; and if it were *requisite*, the *King* should be *declared* a *common Enemy*, and then be *slain* with the *Sword*.

See the grand
Design in the
Reign of K.
Charles.
Mariana de
Rege, lib. 6.

Was the *War* carried on *beyond* the *expectations*, and to the great *astonishment* of the whole *world*? It was the *Jesuit* that first blinded the eyes of the *Presbyterian*, and at last engaged the *Independant* to *pursue* the *Quarrel* further than the *other* intended. For what were those *Agitators*, whose transactions at *Putney* many still living can remember? what were they but *Jesuits* in *Buff*? Dr. *Du Moulin* tells us, that in the year 1647, the question being put by some *Jesuits* from *England*, first to the *Sorbonists*, and then, to the *Pope*, whether it was lawful for them to subvert the *English Government*, and to secure their *Religion*, by making our *King* away? it was resolved in the *affirmative*: and upon that many *Jesuits* came over to carry on the *Work*, and most of them took part in the *Army*. And about thirty of them were met by a *Protestant Gentleman* between *Roan* and *Diepe*, to whom they said (taking him for one of their *Party*) that they were going for *England*, and would take *Arms* in the *Independant Army*, and endeavour to be *Agitators*.

Answ. to Phi-
lanax, p. 59,
60.

Did some misguided people among us binde themselves in a *solemn League and Covenant* to secure *Religion*, and for *Religion* sake to *pull down the Church*? Why, though they are fond of that *Oath* (when they have made no bones of breaking

Thuan. Hist.
lib. 63.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

others,) and though they think themselves still obliged to pursue the ends of it (when others think they are bound in all Conscience to *abjure* it,) yet they would do well to examine whether this their dear Darling was not a *Jesuitical Contrivance*. For the *Jesuits* have been *old excellent* at framing *Solemn Leagues and Covenants*; witness that *French League* contrived by the *Jesuits* and the *Duke of Guise* under *Henry the third*, which was so *like* unto *this*, that it seems to have been the *Pattern* according to which this was drawn. And if you put in the *Preservation of the Catholick*, instead of the *Reformed Religion*; if you put in the *Extirpation of Hereſie*, instead of *Prelacy*; and make a *few* more such *little Alterations*, you will upon comparing both, finde that the *Jesuits Covenant* was in a manner the *same* with the *Scotch*. *This* (as well as *that*) was entred into by *factious* men, meeting at *ſeditious Conventicles*, and pretending that they would correct all the *Errata's* in the *Kings Government*. *This* (even as *that*) was a *Clandestine Covenant*, hatched at first *without* the *Kings consent* or *privity*. *This* (even as *that*) was promoted by *factious Preachers*, who instead of *delivering* the *Word of God*, *railed againſt Government*, and the *Prince* himself. *That* (even as *this*) was for the taking up of *Arms* to defend *Religion* (as they ſaid,) to *remove evil Counſellors*, and to *force the King* to subscribe to their own *Terms*. And though *Religion* was pretended in *both*, yet the *ruine and ſubverſion* of the *Kingdom* was to be at the *end* of *both*; for ſo, that wiſe Statesman *Chriſtopher Thuanus* told *Henry the third*, That *those Arms of the Covenanters* would fall upon his own head; and let the impartial world judge, whether this *League and Covenant* did not bring the Head of *Charles the Firſt* to the Block. Briefly; if we compare the *League in France* with *that* which was ſet up in this *Iſland*, it will appear, that the *Tenor and Spirit* of both was ſuch, as that any indifferent man may conclude, that the *Jesuit* who framed the *one* abroad, was *Preſident* at that grand *Conſult*, when the *other* was plotted and impos'd here.

Was that *horrible Parricide* committed upon a King, of whom the world was not worthy? Was a day of Publick
Thanks-

Thanksgiving appointed for it? Did some (still living) applaud the Fact in their Pulpits? Did that superlative Villain Parker say, That *there never was a greater harmony of the Laws of Nature, Reason, Prudence, and Necessity, to warrant any Act, than was to be found and discern'd in that Act of Justice on the late King?* Did he say moreover, That God himself had eclips'd, yea lost the brightest Beam of his Divine Glory that ever shin'd on this lower world, if he had not some way or other brought That person to some eminent and preternatural punishment? Why, to shew by whom those Regicides were acted, and whom they gratified, and whose Interest they really serv'd, we may remember that a Popish Priest mounted on Horse-back at Charing-cross, vailed his Hat, and flourish'd his Sword, saying, *Now our greatest Enemy is gone.* And with what joy the news of it was receiv'd by the Romanists abroad; and what great hopes they entertain'd of gaining England thereby, Dr. Peter du Moulin (who was well able to acquaint us) hath given us a particular Account.

Cited by the Author of Toleration discuss'd, p. 85.

Answer to Philanax.

Have our imprudent Brethren laid all their Irons in the fire to procure a Toleration? It was the way which Contzen the Jesuit advis'd, That the Romanists in a Protestant Kingdom, should suborn some, and set them on work to crave Liberty and an Indulgence. 'Twas that which Cardinal Bellarmine had the confidence to advise K. James, That he should grant a Toleration. 'Twas that which some hundreds of Papists were so greedy of, that (as Mr. Oates tells us) they offered Cromwel, that in case he would grant it, they would renounce the Interest of the Stuarts (such very Loyal good Subjects they were.) 'Twas that which was once obtain'd by the joynt Interest of some, whom our credulous Non-conformists took for their hearty Patrons, though it hapned unluckily that one of them at the same time was a Popish Lord. 'Twas that which Coleman again laboured for with all imaginable Zeal, and (by encouragements from the French King's Confessor) endeavoured to purchase at any price, and with any hazards, and which he cajoled our Dissenters (whom he plough'd with) into fair hopes of. In a word, 'tis that then which nothing can more oblige or gratifie the Romanists, and especially the Priests, at this juncture and critical point of time.

Subornatio pententium libertatem & indulgentiam. Contz. Pol. 2. c. 18. § 6. Bellarm. in Tort.

Dedication of his Narrat.

Did

Did the *Jesuits* and their *Complices* lay a most *horrid* and *devilish* Plot here in *England*? And did not an open *Rebellion* break out in *Scotland* at the same time? And that we may know *by whom* those *Rebels* were acted, it is notorious that *Ireland* and other *Romish Priests* were dispatcht away into the *North* to prepare them for Tumults, and *Hamilton* (a *Jesuited Papist*) was in the *Head* of the *Rebellion*, and their *publick Declaration* did smell so strong of *Jesuitism* (for the *Act of Supremacy* was condemned, the *Covenants* were revived, the observation of the 29th of *May* was disclaimed, and the *Kings Authority* in Ecclesiastical matters was called an *Usurping Power*) that we have no reason to doubt, but that *Declaration* was drawn by the *Jesuits* finger.

Did the *Papists* here barbarously murder *Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey*? And did not some *Kirk-men* in *Scotland* a little after most barbarously murder the *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews*? Perhaps they themselves did not understand by what hands they were set on work; but the *Jesuits* would greatly triumph, were all the *Bishops* and *Episcopal Divines* in this *Island* served after the same manner.

'Tis endless (and I hope, unnecessary) to reckon up every particular Instance which serveth to shew how the Disciples of *Ignatius Leiola* have all-along for many years abused our unwary *Innovators*, and employed them as their *Tools* and *unfortunate Instruments* to execute those designs of theirs, which we are all highly concern'd to oppose. And those Instances which I have mentioned already, were not intended to exasperate the minds of any *Dissenters*, or to give them offence, but rather to do them service as well as our selves. For our common Cause and Interest doth lie at the stake; and if they will please to consider things without passion and prejudice, they will see but little reason for them to account me an Enemy, because I have told them the Truth. Were not they concern'd as well as others; and were not the Interest of the *Protestant Religion*, in open and extream danger, I should not have chosen a Subject of this nature; because I know how sharp and picquant Truth is, especially when it appears in matters of Fact. But though I do sincerely profess, that for the well-fare of this Church,

Church, and for the *real* good of our *Dissenters* themselves, I could be content to offer up my life, yet I do not think my self obliged (as things stand) to conceal my thoughts, although I am sure to reap little thanks at the hands of some, for divulging them.

However, as I am perswaded that there are many among them who are men of *good* mindes and *honest* hearts, so I hope that some of them will do themselves and the whole Nation that Right, as both to consider that well-meaning men are sometimes easily *impos'd* upon, and also to beware that they be not *cheated* by *Knaves* for the *future*. And such I would beseech, by all that is *sacred* and *dear* unto us, that they would lay to heart the perilous condition of the Reformed Religion not in this Kingdom onely, but by consequence in all parts of *Europe* too. And have not our unhappy *Divisions* from the *Old way*, been a sad *occasion* of this dismal Calamity? Could the Jesuits hurt us, were we of *one* minde, and *unanimous* for that good *Old way* which did lead so many thousands of our Ancestors to Heaven? Is it in our *establish'd* Churches, and *conformable* Congregations, that these *Hornets* do *swarm* and *buzz*, and threaten us with *Death*? Is it not in *separate* Meetings that they build their *Nests*? And are they not those *deluded* people whom they *coax*, and *ride*, and *instigate* to do their *jobs* for them, *besides* their own intentions? Why, since we are not ignorant of the *Jesuits* wiles, methinks *Indignation*, and *Scorn*, and an *English Spirit*, should be enough to keep us from being *shamm'd* into the Snare; and would we but contend for the *Ancient* Paths, it would be impossible for us to be in *danger* of those Evils which the common Enemy *exposeth* us unto, or to lose that peace which he rifles us of, by leading us aside into *Avenues* which are *uncouth* and *unbeaten*.

My Brethren, when first the story of this *Jesuitical* and *damnable* Plot found credit in the world, it was *hoped* by charitable and sober persons of the *Church of England*, that you would have taken hold of that *opportunity*, to have laid down your *passions*, and *united* your selves with us, for the com-

common good of the Protestant Religion ; and when that worthy Magistrate was so basely *assassinated* , there was reason to *conclude*, that one of the Flock being so *worried*, the rest would have *ran* together *presently*, and been *frighted* into an Union. But since you hold off *still*, since we hear daily from the *Press* such ugly *Reflections* upon our *Church*, which is altogether *unconcern'd* in the Plot, onely as a *Butt* to be *shot* at ; and since *Coffee-houses* are so full of *licencious Discourses*, which plainly tend to the prejudice of *Government*, and to the ruine of our *Establisments*, there is too great reason to suspect, that there are *other* bad designs in hand besides those which are driven on *immediately* by the *Jesuits* (even to throw the Church out at windows) and that while we are in pursuit after the *Popish Plotters*, some-body else is following behinde to run *us* through the Heart. I pray God it be not so ; but if it be, assure your selves that the *Jesuit* is at the bottom of those Designs too : and do not flatter your selves with fond Confidence, that you your selves shall be *safe* by *our Ruine*.

Alas, are you so extreamly in love with your own Fancies, that you will not make them a *Peace-Offering* for the security of this poor tottering Nation ? Is the Interest of Religion of so *little* account, that it is not worth your while to part with a few *Whimseys and Humours*, for the sake of it ? Are you busie at drawing out *new Schemes* of Religion, when the common Enemy is in our *Quarters* ? *Plutarch* tells us, that when *Syracuse* was begirt by the *old Romans*, both by Sea and Land, *Archimedes* the Geometrician was so serviceable to his fellow-Citizens by his Machins and Bellick Instruments, that *Marcellus* and his Forces despaired of sacking the Town as long as that *Mathematical Briareus* (so they called *Archimedes*) was concern'd for its defence : But on a certain day, when that great man was diverting his thoughts in his *Study*, and was intent upon *drawing out his Geometrical Lines and Figures*, the City was taken on a sudden, and *Archimedes* knew it not, till a common *souldier* rusht in upon him and gave him his *Information*, and his *Deaths-wound* too. Me-thinks

Plut. in vitâ
Marcelli.

thinks I see in this story, as in a Map, a representation of the *Follies* of some among us, who even now, when the *new Romans* are at our doors, please themselves with promises of their own *safety*, and spend their time in *drawing* out several *Models*, *Platforms*, and *Schemes* of Religion, not considering that we are *all* expos'd to the rage of a *common* Enemy, nor fearing *Archimedes's* lot and doom. But should our Adversaries prevail, no Faction must think to fare the better for their *pretended Demonstrations*, nor must any expect either to *triumph*, or to find *quarter*, unless it be the *Atheist*; because men who are *imperious* and *bigotted*, when once they come to be armed with *Power*, will more patiently endure to see men to have *no Religion* at all, than to see them have a *different Religion* from their own. What then will our peevish Brethren get at last, but a *certainty* of being buried in the *common* Ruine? And if they are not of *Sampsons* temper, content to die *themselves*, rather than the *House* they heave at should not fall, it highly concerns them to consider, that nothing but *Unity* can support our *House long*; and that which is desired of them, is, that if they *will not*, or *cannot* put their *own* shoulders under to prop the *House* up, they would at least let the *Pillars* alone upon which it standeth *now*.

Fond people! that like him that set fire on *Diana's Temple* to get himself a Name, rather than venture a little of their Reputation with the Populacy, will venture their *own* and the *publick* Safety: For to that it must come in the end, if some stop be not set in time to mens wandering from the *old Paths*. Had we all stayed *there*, neither *Destruction* nor *Danger* could have been before us *now*. And the subtle *Jesuit* perceiv'd it long ago: and therefore his great *Expedient* and *Design* was to lead men *aside* out of this way, to lead them by the Nose into some *by paths*, and withal to lead them like *Solomons fools*, to the correction of the *Stocks*. Our *Dissenters* are now his *Instruments*, but at last he doth intend to make them his *Sacrifices*, and to make himself either their *Lawgiver* or their *Priest*. The little *Jackall* that runneth so hotly after the Prey, doth but serve the *Lion*, that upon the least distaste

Plutarch in
Fabio.

is ready to devour the *Booty* and *him* too. Such is the course of the world, that men fare very ill by serving wicked and outrageous Masters ; they receive the *worst returns* for the *best services*, like the *Elm*, that is many times *killed* by the *Ivy* that twisted it self about its body, and could not have grown without its Support. I shall adde a known story of *Annibal*, That his Army being environ'd by the *Roman Forces*, to defeat them of their hopes of victory, he used this *Stratagem* : In the night he gathered two thousand Oxen, fastened combustible matter about their horns, then set it all on fire, and so forced the Cattle upon the Enemies Camp, to put them into *disorder* and a *fright* ; and by this wile he drew off his *Carthaginians*. The poor Beasts went on quietly for a *while*, but at last the sense of the fire made them *mad* ; and the more they endeavoured to shake the *flames off*, the more they *smarted*. An instance which I would recommend to the serious consideration of those silly people who are unawares *employ'd* by the politick *Romanists*, to disturb and defeat *us*, if it be possible. However they may go on, like *Annibal's* Oxen, *securely* for a while, with their *heads* and *horns* lifted up, and not perceive the mischief that is *over* their *own pates* ; yet before these *Combustions* are quite over, they are likely to be rewarded with nothing but *pain* and *torment* for their service, and to smart sufficiently by the *fire* in their *heads*. They may make way for *Annibal*, and be *burnt* themselves, even by the *hands* that set them on work.

All this may (by Gods Blessing) be prevented, if men would but be wise in *time*. But whatever *Conclusions* and *Experiments* some may think to try, no better directions can be given, than to stand and ask for the *Old Paths*. There we must begin to mend, where the Sin and Danger doth commence. All our *Divisions*, and *Disorders*, and *Dangers*, and whatsoever *Calamities* we have had either *Time* to *feel*, or just *Reason* to *fear*, all of them take their rise from this *original Evil*, that men have been unreasonable in declining from the *Old way*. Had our *Government* its due *Reverence* and *Authority*, as in the days of old : Would the *Hearts* of
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men not be set *against* our Prayers, but join fervently with *Us in them*, as in the days of *old*: Were our *Rites* esteem'd, though *little* in their own *Nature*, yet *considerable* for their *Use*, as in the days of *Old*: Were men *humble*, *peaceable* and *modest*, *thinking no better of themselves than they ought to think*: In a word; Would not unruly men trample under foot those things, which have been the *Hedge* and *Fence* about Religion, but be *Orthodox* in their *Judgments*, and especially in their *Lives*, as our Fathers were in the days of *old*; then (by Gods good Providence over us) we need not fear, what *Enemy* could annoy us.

God of his Mercy *Grant us Peace in our days*; and give us *Eyes to see*, and *Hearts seriously to consider the things which do belong unto our Peace*, before they are *hid from our Eyes*.
Amen.

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POSTSCRIPT.

I Shall by way of Appendix transcribe a passage out of that very learned and excellent man Dr. Sanderson, in his Preface to his Sermons, bearing date July 13, 1657. where, clearing the regular Sons of the Church of England from the unjust Aspersions of being Popishly affected, he saith, 1. That those very persons, who were under God the Instruments of freeing us from the Roman yoke, by casting Popery out of the Church, and sundry of them Martyred in the Cause; those very persons, I say, were great Favourers of these (now accounted, Popish) Ceremonies, and the chief Authors or Procurers of the Constitutions made in that behalf. 2. That in all former Times since the beginning of the Reformation, our Arch-bishops and Bishops, with their Chaplains, and others of the Prelatical Party, were the principal (I had almost said, the only) Champions to maintain the Cause of Religion against the Papists. 3. That even in these times of so great distraction, and consequently thereunto, of so great advantage to the Factors for Rome, none have stept into the gap more readily, nor appear'd in the face of the Enemy more openly, nor maintain'd the fight with more Stoutness and Gallantry, than the Episcopal Divines have done, as their late learned Writings testifie. Yea, and some of them such, as (besides their other Sufferings) have lain as deep under the Suspicion of being Popishly affected, as
any

nay other of their Brethren whosoever. 4. That by the endeavours of these Episcopal Divines, some that were bred Papists have been gained to our Church, others that began to waver confirmed and settled in their old Religion, and some that were fallen from Us recovered and reduced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of these confused Times; and of each of these I am able to produce some Instance. But I profess sincerely, as in the presence of God, and before the world, that I have not known (at least, I cannot call to remembrance) so much as one single Example of any of this done by any of our Anti-ceremonian Brethren, whether Presbyterian or Independent.

But I have somewhat to return upon these our Brethren, who thus causelessly suspect us. Possibly it will not please them [φορτικόν τὸ ἀληθές :] but I must speak it out, both for the Truths sake and theirs: to wit, That themselves are in truth, though not purposely and intentionally (whereof in my own thought I freely acquit them) yet really and eventually the great Promoters of the Roman Interest among us, and that more ways than one. First, by putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of Episcopacy. It is very well known to many, what rejoicing that Vote brought to the Romish Party: How even in Rome itself they sang their Io Pæans upon the tidings thereof, and said triumphantly, Now is the day ours; now is the fatal Blow given to the Protestant Religion in England. They, who by conversing much with that Nation, were well-acquainted with the fiery turbulent spirits of the Scottish Pres-

Presbyterians, *knew as well how to make their advantage thereof: and handled the matter with so much cunning, by fomenting their Discontents underhand, till they had framed them, and by their means, some of the same Party here, to become the fittest Instruments for the carrying on of their great Designe: And this, I verily believe, was the very Master-piece of the whole Plot. They could not but foresee (as the Event hath also proved) that if the Old Government, a main Pillar in the Building, were once dissolved, the whole Fabrick would be sore shaken, if not presently shattered in pieces and ruin'd: things would presently run into Confusion: Distractions and Divisions would certainly follow; and when the Waters should be sufficiently troubled and mudded, then would be their opportunity to cast in their nets for a draught, &c. Whoso pleaseth, may read on; and indeed the whole Preface is highly worthy to be read, and judiciously considered, especially at this Time.*

FINIS.

*A Catalogue of some Books printed for and sold
by Jonathan Edwin, at the Three Roses
in Ludgate-street.*

A Sermon preached on the Thirtieth of *January*, 167⁸, being the Anniversary of the Martyrdom of King *Charles* the First, of blessed Memory, and published at the request of some Friends, by *Edward Pelling*, Rector of *St. Martins Ludgate* : in quarto.

Ancient and Modern Delusions, discoursed of in three Sermons upon 2 *Thes.* 2. 11. concerning some Errors now prevailing in the Church of *Rome*, by *Edward Pelling*, Rector of *St. Martins Ludgate* : in quarto.

The true Liberty and Dominion of Conscience, vindicated from the Usurpations and Abuses of Opinion and Perswasion : in octavo.

The Countermine ; or a short, but true discovery of the dangerous Principles and secret Practices of the Dissenting Party, especially the *Presbyterians*, shewing that Religion is pretended, but Rebellion is intended ; and in order thereto, the Foundation of Monarchy in the State , and Episcopacy in the Church, are undermined : in octavo.

The common Interest of King and People, shewing the Original, Antiquity, and Excellency of Monarchy, compared with Aristocracy and Democracy, and
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particularly of our English Monarchy ; and that absolute Papal and Presbyterian popular Supremacy, are utterly inconsistent with Prerogative, Property, and Liberty : in octavo.

The Project of Peace ; or Unity of Faith and Government, the onely Expedient to procure Peace both Forreign and Domestique ; and to preserve these Nations from the danger of Popery, and Arbitrary Tyranny : in octavo.

Two Sermons preached at the Funerals of the Right Honourable *Robert Lord Lexington*, and the Lady *Mary* his Wife ; by *Samuel Holden*, A. M. late of *Lincoln-Colledge* in *Oxford*, and Chaplain to his Lordship deceased : in quarto.

A Sermon preached *July 17. 1676.* in the Cathedral-Church of *St. Peter* in *York*, before the Right Honourable *Sir Francis North*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas ; and the Honourable *Vere Bertie Esq* ; one of the Barons of the Exchequer ; his Majesties Judges of Assize for the Northern Circuit. By *Thomas Cartwright*, D. D. and Dean of *Rippon*, Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.

A Sermon preached before the King at Whitehal, *January the 9th 1676.* by *Thomas Cartwright*, D. D. Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty.

F I N I S.

